

# MICHIGAN

# history



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## Michigan in the War of 1812

*Fred C. Hamil*

### CAUSES AND BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

THE WAR OF 1812 WAS THE LAST STAGE in a century-long conflict for possession of the North American continent. Land-hungry English colonists had spread westward from the Atlantic Coast to the Alleghenies, dispossessing the natives and destroying the forest on which their way of life depended. The French, on the other hand, developed a commercial empire based on furs, which made use of the services of the Indians and preserved their wilderness economy. From Quebec and Montreal the French quickly penetrated to the center of the continent, encircling the English with a tenuous line of strategic forts and trading posts on the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. After 1760 Great Britain took the place of France in the exploitation of the empire of the St. Lawrence; British traders joined with French-Canadians to carry on the fur trade. The country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi remained part of a vast Indian preserve from which white settlers were excluded. In 1774 it was annexed to the Province of Quebec, and seemed lost forever to Great Britain's colonies along the Atlantic Coast.

The Treaty of Paris in 1783, which ended the American War of Independence, unexpectedly ceded this region to the United States. The British then sought to avoid the consequences of their betrayal of the interests of the Indians and the Canadian fur traders. They refused to give up the posts at Detroit, Michilimackinac, and Niagara. The Indians indignantly refused to recognize the peace or the cession of their hunting grounds. For nearly a dozen years they fought a savage war against the encroaching settlers and the American armies. It was not until 1794 that General Anthony Wayne was able to inflict a decisive defeat on them in what is now Ohio at Fallen Timbers, on the lower Maumee River. The following year, at Greenville, the Indians ceded to Congress extensive areas of land, including most of the present state of Ohio. Only then did the

British agree to give up Detroit and the other western posts. This agreement was carried out in 1796.

Peace did not long remain. The continued loss of the Indians' hunting grounds, too often by sham treaties, and the gross disregard of their most elementary human rights, inflamed their hostility anew. Their cause seemed hopeless, until the brilliant Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, with his brother, the Prophet, began in 1809 to weld the tribes east of the Mississippi into a confederacy. These men preached a doctrine of moral reform, separation from the whites, and preservation of the remaining Indian lands. In the region between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, the Indians' strength had been reduced to some four thousand warriors in scattered tribes. Opposed to them in the Ohio Valley and to the south were fifty times that number of white men of fighting age.

In spite of Tecumseh's assurances that the confederacy was purely defensive, Governor William Henry Harrison of the Indiana Territory took alarm. Collecting a large army, in November, 1811, he marched up the Wabash River to the Prophet's headquarters at the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek. A fierce battle, costly to both sides, ended with the defeat of the Indians and the destruction of their village. Tecumseh, who had been absent in the south on the business of the confederacy, soon withdrew to Canada with his warriors, to become a potent force against the Americans in the War of 1812. The belief that the British authorities were behind the confederacy and had provided the Indians with arms convinced many Americans that the only safety for the West lay in driving the British from the continent. The restless American frontiersmen were already gazing with greedy eyes on the rich and empty lands of Upper Canada. Hatred and fear of the British, combined with a desire for personal gain, caused a widespread clamor for war.

In the meantime events upon the sea had been the ostensible cause of bringing the United States to the point of breaking relations with Great Britain. A long series of incidents, arising out of the life and death struggle between Great Britain and Napoleonic France, led to this result. Both powers disregarded the rights of neutrals in their efforts to blockade each other, but Britain had command of the seas, and her interference with neutral trade was more effective. She exercised her asserted right to stop and search

American ships, and to impress American seamen alleged to be British deserters. Following the attack by the *Leopard* on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, in June, 1807, in which American blood was shed, President Thomas Jefferson placed an embargo on American ships leaving for foreign ports. This policy was continued with the Nonintercourse Act of 1809, but it was ended the following year because of the injury to American trade. An offer was then made to resume nonintercourse with either France or Great Britain, provided the other would revoke its blockade decrees.

The elections of 1810-11 brought to Congress a number of young men from the West and South, among them Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, who gained the name of the "War Hawks." The destiny of the United States was to extend its territories to the North Pole, they declared; and they boasted that Canada could be conquered in six weeks. Joining with others to secure the Speaker's chair for Henry Clay, these men gained control over the appointment of a number of committees, the most important being that on foreign affairs. When Napoleon's government made an empty gesture towards revoking its blockade decrees President James Madison accepted it at face value. The War Hawks demanded war against Great Britain. Their loud defense of neutral rights and freedom of the seas did not hide their real objective—the conquest of Canada. It was the congressmen from Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and South Carolina who voted, almost unanimously, for war. A majority of those from New England, New York, and New Jersey voted against war; the maritime sections of New England, most affected by impressment and blockades, were unanimously for peace. The British government announced on June 16, 1812, its decision to lift its blockade, but it was too late. The American declaration of war was signed by Madison on June 18.

On the eve of the conflict there were about 90,000 inhabitants in the Province of Upper Canada (now Ontario). Most of them were scattered along the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of the Great Lakes from Montreal to Lake St. Clair. Even along this line there were extensive areas of unbroken forest on Lake Ontario east of York (Toronto), and along the western half of the Lake Erie shore. Settlement had also spread up the Thames River for a few miles beyond the site of Chatham. This stream was part of an

interior line of communication leading from Detroit to the head of Lake Ontario. A few miles above Chatham the river became too shallow for anything larger than a canoe; and wheeled vehicles could not traverse the forty miles of forest that separated Moraviantown, at the end of the lower Thames settlements, from Delaware, whence a road led to Burlington Bay on Lake Ontario. Colonel Thomas Talbot's settlers were opening a road along Lake Erie westward from Long Point, but it stopped short some hundred miles east of the Detroit River. Such roads as existed were almost impassable except when dry in summer or frozen in winter. The Great Lakes system provided the only highway for the rapid movement of men and supplies in any quantity. It was the key to the control of Upper Canada, Michigan, and the Far West.

Michigan had at this time less than five thousand settlers, four-fifths of them French-Canadians. The great majority lived along the Detroit River. The rest of the territory was covered with a forest as dense as that of Upper Canada, broken only occasionally by an isolated trading post on a lake or river. The one road that was anything more than a trail lay along the Detroit River and the western end of Lake Erie. Below the Maumee River (then called the Miami) the Black Swamp, some forty miles in width, stretched from the Sandusky River on the east to the Indiana line on the west. In the summer of 1812 General William Hull had to cut a road through this swamp in order to bring his army from Ohio to Detroit. Throughout the Ohio Valley the roads were little better than those in Upper Canada.

British naval power on the Great Lakes was somewhat superior to that of the United States. As long as this superiority was held and the life line to Great Britain was not cut, Upper Canada might feel fairly secure. But within her borders were thousands of recent American settlers of doubtful loyalty, most of whom were at least sympathetic to the United States. The United Empire Loyalists (the Tories of the War of Independence) and the British immigrants could be depended on, but they were comparatively few in numbers, and the militia lacked training. Except for Tecumseh's warriors, most of the Indians would support whichever appeared to be the winning side. Less than 4,500 British regular troops guarded the Canadas, and two-thirds of them were stationed in the lower prov-

ince (now Quebec). In this province the authorities were very uneasy, unjustifiably as events were to show, about the loyalty of the large French population. Sir George Prevost, Governor-General of British North America who also governed Lower Canada directly, proved to be lacking in nerve and resolution.

On the other hand, Upper Canada had invaluable assets in the persons of Major-General Isaac Brock, the administrator of the civil government, and Tecumseh. Both were brave, intelligent, and experienced commanders. As war neared, Brock laid plans to remain on the defensive at Niagara, Kingston, and the upper St. Lawrence, while using Fort Malden at Amherstburg as a base for the capture of the American posts at Michilimackinac and Detroit. Possession of these forts, he saw, would secure the cooperation of the western Indian tribes, insure control of the fur trade, and strengthen British command of the lakes. Failure to take them might force him to evacuate Amherstburg, and possibly the whole country as far east as Kingston or even Montreal.

Until Napoleon's defeat in 1814 England could send no more than a handful of additional troops to Canada. The population of the United States was about 7,250,000; that of all the British North American provinces combined, less than 500,000. A determined attack on Montreal, at the head of ocean navigation—the limit to which British sea power could reach—might succeed in cutting the life line to Upper Canada. That province could then be conquered at leisure, or left to fall like ripe fruit.

With proper foresight the American government would have strengthened its positions at Michilimackinac, Detroit, and Niagara before the declaration of war; and it would have remained on the defensive there. It had the advantage of a well-developed route by way of the Hudson River, Albany, and Lake Champlain, for the attack on Montreal, which should have been the main objective. At the same time, Kingston could be threatened by the Mohawk River-Lake Oneida route from Albany. But incompetent leadership and ill-laid plans spelled disaster for American arms. Nothing was done to increase the inadequate garrison and supplies at Michilimackinac. The decision was made to move simultaneously against the Canadian frontiers at Detroit, Niagara, and Montreal. Major-General Henry Dearborn was put in command of the northern

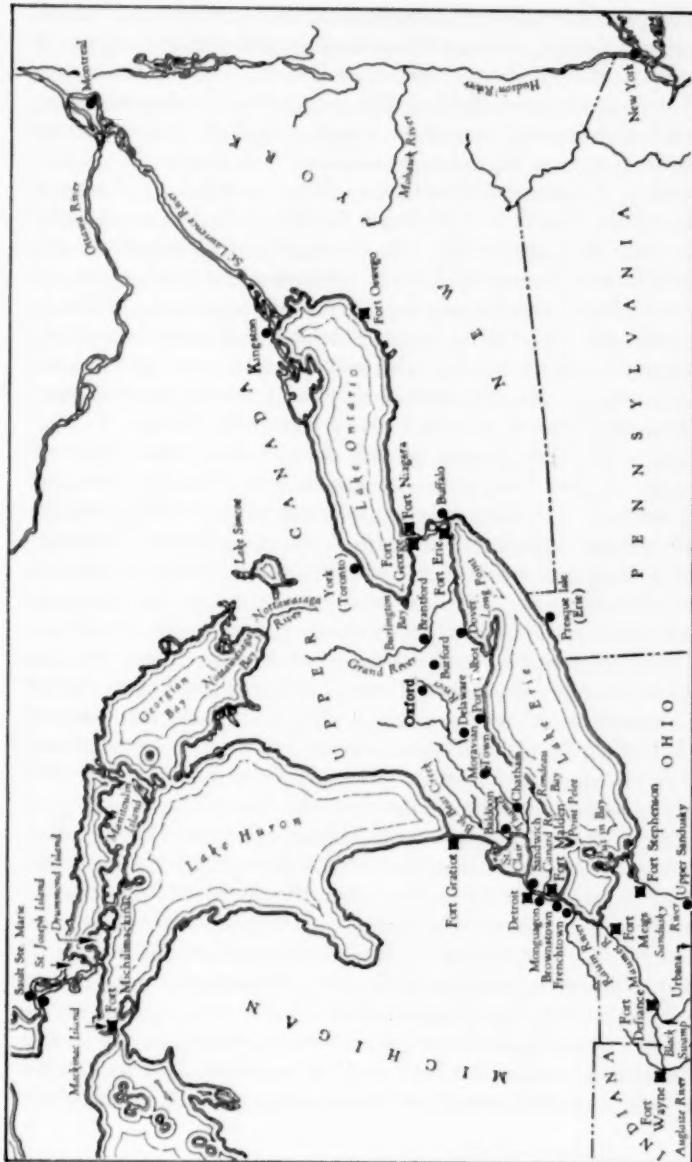
region from Niagara eastward, with direct control of the operations against Montreal. Brigadier-General William Hull, governor of the Michigan Territory, was given command of the northwestern frontier centering round Detroit. Both were aging veterans who had served in the War of Independence in subordinate positions.

The United States was divided and unprepared for war. The New England states were definitely opposed to it, and to any alliance with Napoleon. They contributed little in money or men to the war, and continued to trade with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick almost as though they were neutral countries. The brunt of the fighting was borne by the militiamen of the inland and western states, who were poorly trained and poorly disciplined. Many of them held to the letter of the law and refused to serve outside the limits of the United States. The regular army had recently been reduced to less than seven thousand men, despite the threat of war, and it was difficult to obtain recruits for it. Most men preferred the shorter terms and freer discipline of the militia.

#### GENERAL WILLIAM HULL AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1812

GENERAL WILLIAM HULL'S LACK OF FITNESS for high military command was amply demonstrated during his conduct of the Detroit campaign. But he was not without awareness of the strategic importance of Detroit in the contest for the support of the Indians of the Old Northwest; and he saw clearly that British naval superiority on Lake Erie posed a threat to the lines of communication between that post and the settled parts of Ohio, whence must come most of the men and supplies for its defense. Certainly no invasion of Upper Canada could be made from Detroit with the object of advancing eastward to join another invading army from Niagara without control of Lake Erie. Such was his opinion when Secretary of War William Eustis asked him to assume the command of the army on the northwestern front in the spring of 1812. A little later, however, the objections of his superiors led him to abandon this position. Against his better judgment he took the way that led to disaster and disgrace.

Hull arrived at Dayton, Ohio, on May 25, 1812, to take command



of three militia regiments comprising fifteen hundred men, which Governor Return Jonathan Meigs had assembled at the request of President Madison for the defense of Detroit. The regiments were led by Colonels James Findlay, Duncan McArthur, and Lewis Cass, audacious men who were soon at odds with their indecisive commander. On June 10, the army moved up to Urbana, where it was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller and five hundred regulars of the Fourth United States Infantry from Vincennes. Five days later Hull began the difficult march of two hundred miles through the wilderness to Detroit. The great Black Swamp barred the way, but the men began to cut a road through the tangled mass of trees and underbrush, building bridges and causeways where necessary for the advance of the heavy baggage train. Two weeks after it set out the army reached the Rapids of the Maumee, sixty miles below Detroit and southwest of present-day Toledo.

News of the declaration of war had not yet reached Hull, although he must have known it was imminent, and he welcomed the chance to send on his baggage and medical stores, along with the sick and some of the officers' wives, in the schooner *Cuyahoga*, which happened to be in the Maumee River. Unknown to him his official papers, with information concerning the American plans and the size of his force, were also put on board. The *Cuyahoga* was captured by the British off Fort Malden, where the commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas St. George, had been notified of the outbreak of war on June 27. Hull only heard the news on July 2 when he reached Frenchtown (now Monroe) at the mouth of the River Raisin. Here a messenger from the Cleveland post office overtook him with a letter from the War Department.

On July 5, the American army arrived at Springwells, just below Detroit, to the sound of gunfire directed by the Americans from Fort Detroit against the enemy across the river. The next day it moved up to the town. With the garrison there, consisting of a company of the First United States Infantry, and a detachment of volunteer Michigan militia, Hull now commanded a force of not more than twenty-two hundred men. Many of his original troops had been left as garrisons at the blockhouses built along the way to guard his communications between Urbana and the Maumee. Hull's authority extended over Fort Michilimackinac to the north, Fort

Dearborn at Chicago, and Fort Wayne, Indiana, but he was unable to keep in effective touch with these distant posts, or to give them any assistance.

Three days after his arrival at Detroit, Hull received a letter from the Secretary of War giving him discretionary orders to attack Fort Malden. He was warned, however, that he could not expect support from an early advance on the Niagara frontier. Under pressure from his zealous militia officers he decided to cross the river into Canada, in spite of British naval control and the lack of carriages for the cannon he believed necessary for the assault on Malden. Without artillery the assault would have been costly, and the undisciplined militiamen might not have been equal to it. But Colonel St. George had less than three hundred British regulars under his command, besides some six hundred militiamen and at least as many Indians under Tecumseh. With this force, and with the fortifications in disrepair, neither St. George nor General Isaac Brock had much hope of preventing the fall of Malden.

Working feverishly to strengthen the fort, to collect and arm an additional company of militia from the outlying settlements, and to round up cattle and other supplies, St. George was playing for time. To make some show of opposition to an enemy crossing he had sent up the militia under Colonel James Baby to Sandwich (Windsor). On July 5, while building gun emplacements opposite Détroit, the men were thrown into confusion by shots fired from two twenty-four pounders located on the American bank of the river. News then came that Hull's army had arrived at Springwells. Baby began a withdrawal to Amherstburg, but was stopped a few miles away by a detachment of regulars, which prevailed upon him to return. But on July 11, having learned that Hull was about to cross the river, St. George ordered the militia back to Malden.

In the darkness of early morning on July 12, the American army crossed the Detroit River below Belle Isle without opposition. Hull established his headquarters at Sandwich, in a new brick house belonging to Colonel Baby. Until Malden could be taken, any advance inland was an impossibility, and the position of the invading army remained precarious from the vulnerability of its supply lines. Hull decided to wait at Sandwich until carpenters completed carriages for the heavy artillery; and in the meantime to attempt to

weaken the British position by winning over the local inhabitants. For this purpose he issued a bombastic proclamation offering protection for all who should take the oath of neutrality, and death and destruction for those who should resist. This had a considerable effect on the people; and many of the militiamen, fearful for the safety of their families and anxious to harvest their wheat, left their posts and returned home. Many took the oath of neutrality; some deserted to the American army. Three days after the crossing, St. George wrote to General Brock that he had only 471 militiamen left, and these were in such a state as to be useless to him in the field. The Indians also began to drift away. On July 18, Colonel Henry Procter, who had just replaced St. George at Malden, was able to muster no more than 270 Indian warriors.

To ease his problems of supply, General Hull dispatched foraging expeditions to the settlements on the River Thames and the Chenal Ecarté. On July 14, Colonel Duncan McArthur led a detachment of one hundred fifteen infantry, and twenty mounted men, on a quick march as far as McGregor's Mills (now Chatham) on the Thames. Three days later he was back, followed by a flotilla of boats laden with arms, provisions, and other public stores which had been awaiting shipment to Amherstburg. On July 27, another detachment under Captain Robert Forsyth returned from Baldoon, Lord Selkirk's colony of Highland Scots situated on the Chenal Ecarté near the northeast corner of Lake St. Clair. They had plundered the settlement of its provisions, including nine hundred Merino sheep from Selkirk's farm.

Hull also dispatched probing expeditions down the river road leading to Amherstburg, twenty miles away. On July 16, a report was received that a British force had crossed to the north side of the Canard River, about six miles above Malden. Hull sent Colonel Lewis Cass with three hundred men to investigate, but with orders not to attack. Cass promptly disregarded these orders and drove the enemy from the bridge over the Canard. Hull refused to allow him to retain control of the bridge, exposed as it was to fire from the ship of war *Queen Charlotte* with its seventeen twenty-four pounders, which lay in the Detroit River off the mouth of the Canard. Cass had to withdraw, disgusted with his commander's timidity. Two British picket guards were taken prisoners. Both

were wounded, and one died soon after. These were the first battle casualties of the campaign, and possibly of the war.

During the next week, while Hull waited for the carpenters to construct gun carriages, further clashes occurred at the Canard. Cass and McArthur, the impetuous militia colonels who led the reconnaissance parties, found it difficult to restrain their men or themselves, and additional blood was shed in what were essentially useless operations. On July 28 came the disheartening news of the fall of Fort Michilimackinac, located on the southeastern end of Mackinac Island, which guarded the passage between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. The British command of the upper lakes had prevented Hull from sending any reinforcements to that post, even if he had been in a position to do so, but he neglected even to send it word of the outbreak of hostilities. Lieutenant Porter Hanks had a garrison of but sixty-one officers and men, and was without adequate supplies for a siege.

About forty miles to the northeast of Mackinac Island there was a British fort on St. Joseph's Island, which protected the entrance to the St. Mary's River and Lake Superior. Captain Charles Roberts, its commandant, had a small garrison of forty-six officers and men, but he could draw upon the *voyageurs* and agents of the North West Fur Company, and its numerous Indian allies. By July 15, a week after the receipt of a letter from General Brock directing him to take such measures as he could, Roberts had collected about two hundred Canadian employees of the company and four hundred Indians. With these, and most of his garrison, he set out the following morning for Mackinac Island in a fleet of canoes, accompanied by the company's armed brig *Caledonia*. The landing on Mackinac Island took place in the early morning of July 17, at a point far to the north of Fort Michilimackinac. Dragging a six-pound cannon up an unguarded height which commanded the fort, Roberts called upon Hanks to surrender. Outnumbered ten to one, and unable to reach the cannon on the hill with his own guns, Hanks had no choice but to obey.

The news of the fall of Fort Michilimackinac, which should not have been unexpected, was greatly disturbing to General Hull. "The surrender of Michillimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians," he wrote later, "and they were swarming down in every

direction." He saw that Fort Dearborn, at the southern end of Lake Michigan, could not hope to hold out against the hostile Indians and the British, and he sent word to Captain Nathan Heald, the commandant, to withdraw to Fort Wayne, Indiana. The evacuation of the fort, which began the morning of August 15, ended in disaster. Escorted by a small group of friendly Miami Indians from Fort Wayne, the slender column of fifty-four regulars, twelve militiamen, nine women and eighteen children, encountered a force of some four hundred Potawatomi. In the ensuing fight all were killed or taken prisoners by the savages.

Soon after his arrival in Sandwich, General Hull had sent word to Governor Meigs of Ohio that he must have supplies immediately, or "the army will perish." In response to this plea the governor dispatched Captain Henry Brush from Urbana on July 21, with ninety men, seventy pack horses laden with flour, and three hundred cattle. At the Maumee two companies of militia from Sandusky and Cleveland joined the convoy, which then moved up to the River Raisin. Here Brush learned that Tecumseh's Indians were blocking the road ahead at the mouth of the Detroit River, opposite Amherstburg. He sent word to Hull asking for reinforcements, and settled down to await their arrival.

Hull responded promptly by dispatching Major Thomas Van Horne and two hundred men, with orders to take a back trail that led from the mouth of the Ecorse River through the site of present-day Ypsilanti, thus avoiding the Indians reported to be at Brownstown. Van Horne camped for the night of August 4 at the Ecorse, and the next morning, being unable to find the trail, proceeded down the river road. Just beyond Monguagon (Trenton) a small party of Indians fired on the advance guard, killing two men. Warning came that the enemy was preparing an ambush at Brownstown Creek, but Van Horne began to cross that stream without taking the precaution to send scouts ahead. A sudden burst of fire came from the brush where a group of Indians led by Tecumseh lay hidden. The terrified militia broke and ran, leaving seventeen dead on the field, seven of them officers; the rout did not end until the survivors reached the Ecorse. The Indians lost one of their chiefs, their only casualty during the engagement. Hull's dispatches to

the Secretary of War were captured and delivered to Colonel Procter at Malden.

On the day following the Battle of Brownstown, General Hull held a council of war with his senior officers to determine what should be done. He, as well as they, knew that the invasion of Canada was pointless unless an attempt was made to take Malden. Failure to take it not only left the British in a position to blockade the road between Detroit and the River Raisin at will, but left the way open for an attack on Detroit whenever General Brock could bring in reinforcements from the east. With the capture of Malden the British would lose their only local base of operations for their army and navy, and would be compelled to fall back on Long Point on Lake Erie, 150 miles to the east. A proper fortification at the Maumee would then secure the American communications with Ohio, except from long-range attacks by water which would be much more difficult to make. The favorable conditions resulting from the early desertion of the Canadian militia and Indians had now disappeared. Veteran British reinforcements in small numbers were beginning to arrive at Malden; the militia had recovered; and the Indians were returning to what appeared to be the winning side. With the fall of Michilimackinac a horde of Indians and North West Company men might be expected to descend from the north. In the east the campaigns against Montreal and Niagara had stalled, making it possible for General Brock to turn his attention to the Detroit theater.

Hull no longer had any excuse for delay. The carpenters had at last completed the carriages for the siege guns. A decision was accordingly made to attack Malden at once, although the artillery officers pointed out the difficulty of getting floating batteries past the *Queen Charlotte* and two other armed vessels in the river, or of attempting to bring down the guns by land. A few hours later word was received that Brock was on his way to Amherstburg with reinforcements of British regulars from the Niagara region. Hull immediately abandoned plans for the attack and decided to move the bulk of his force back to Detroit, leaving only a small garrison in a temporary fortification at Sandwich. The protests of the Ohio colonels went unheeded, and the crossing was effected during the early hours of August 8.

As soon as he had arrived back in Detroit Hull made a new attempt to bring up the convoy at the River Raisin. He sent Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller with 280 regulars and more than three hundred militiamen down the road to Frenchtown. The detachment had reached Monguagon, about four miles north of Brownstown, on August 9, when the advance guard was fired on by at least four hundred British and Indians under the command of Captain Adam Muir. This force had crossed from Malden to Brownstown when the American army moved back to Detroit, and had moved up to Monguagon just in time to take up a position in a wooded ravine, with Tecumseh's Indians dispersed in a corn field and in the woods to the left. The Americans pressed forward, driving back the Indians, until they engaged the British line. After a hot engagement that lasted more than half an hour the British began to retire at a run down the road to Brownstown, followed by Colonel Miller and the left wing of the American force. The right wing pursued the fleeing Indians through the forest away from the river, until recalled by Colonel Miller, who had stopped his pursuit of the British in order to reform his forces. The British, who had lost four killed, fifteen wounded, and two missing, did not stop until they reached Brownstown, where they embarked in their boats for Amherstburg. The Indians may have lost as many as forty or fifty killed. The Americans lost twenty killed and sixty wounded.

Miller's victory at the Battle of Monguagon left the way open for a meeting with Brush at the River Raisin, and the bringing of the desperately needed provisions to Detroit. But Miller feared another ambush on the road ahead, and his men were almost without food, having brought only a two days' supply with them. The night was spent in a cleared area near the battlefield, only the wounded being provided with shelter from the heavy rain that began to fall. The next morning Miller sent word to Hull, asking for additional rations as well as boats to evacuate the wounded. Later in the day Colonel McArthur and a detachment arrived with the boats and one day's rations. Miller was now ill, and he made no move to advance to the River Raisin. On August 12, instead of sending more provisions as requested by Miller, Hull directed him to return with his men to Detroit. Late the following day Hull sent out a picked force of four hundred men under McArthur and

Cass, in a last desperate attempt to join forces with Brush. A few hours later General Brock arrived at Malden with reinforcements from the east, prepared to take the offensive.

When Hull began his invasion of Canada, Brock was at Fort George on the Niagara frontier, anxiously awaiting an attack in that quarter. He sent Colonel Procter to replace St. George at Malden, with some additional men from the Forty-first Regiment, and he tried to raise a few companies of local militia and a force of Mohawk Indians from the Grand River, to move down the Thames to his assistance. However, Hull's proclamation, distributed by American agents, had a great effect on the inhabitants. The Indians declared their intention of remaining neutral, and most of the Oxford and Long Point militamen professed to be afraid to leave their families exposed to these uncertain allies. Brock had to content himself with posting a small detachment of militia at Delaware to oppose the American foraging parties on the upper Thames.

From July 27 to August 5 Brock was at York, meeting with an extra session of the legislature, which he had summoned in order to procure troops and supplies. On July 29, he heard the welcome news that Fort Michilimackinac had fallen. At the same time many volunteers were coming forward for service on the Detroit frontier. Relieved now from fear of an early attack at Niagara, and with reinforcements from Lower Canada to protect the eastern part of the province, Brock felt free to turn his attention to the west. Immediately after the prorogation of the legislature he left for Burlington Bay, and from thence proceeded overland to Long Point on Lake Erie. Here he collected a force of two hundred sixty volunteers, one hundred regulars of the Forty-first Regiment, and twenty Indians. With these he set out on August 8 in small boats for Malden, having previously ordered the militia at Delaware to go there by way of the Thames.

The flotilla arrived at Amherstburg about midnight on August 13. It was then that Brock and Tecumseh first met, and came to have a feeling of respect and admiration for each other. The morning after his arrival Brock formed all his available troops into three brigades and moved up to Sandwich, where Procter had begun to erect batteries opposite Detroit. On August 15 he sent Hull a demand that he surrender, under threat of an Indian massacre.

With Hull's refusal the British shore batteries and the guns of two ships began to fire on Detroit. The American shore batteries and two twenty-four pounders in the town returned the fire. A brisk duel ensued that lasted until ten o'clock that night.

Soon after dawn on August 16 the three British brigades, composed of about three hundred thirty regulars and four hundred militia, crossed the river and landed at Springwells. A small detachment of artillerymen with five light guns went with them. Some six hundred Indians under Tecumseh had already crossed during the night and were hidden in the woods about a mile and a half to the left. The British had resumed their bombardment, now aiming at the fort instead of the town, and doing considerable execution among the men and officers of the garrison. Among those killed was Lieutenant Porter Hanks, the unfortunate Michilimackinac commandant, and Dr. James Reynolds, while Dr. Hosea Blood was severely wounded. This bloodshed did nothing to strengthen Hull's determination to resist the British assault, which was progressing with terrifying speed.

Brock had intended to wait in a strong position and compel the Americans to attack him in the open, but on learning that McArthur's party had left for the River Raisin he resolved to assault the fort at once. He knew from the correspondence captured at Brownstown that Hull had lost the confidence of his men, and was desperate. He may have had some indication that Hull would not fight. If so, his advance in the face of the heavy guns loaded with grape, which Hull had placed at an outpost to the west of the fort, was not as reckless as it seemed.

As the British troops marched up the river road, the Indians, who had slipped through the woods behind, began to enter the town. The long British column moved forward against the guns, facing what appeared to be certain destruction. But the waiting artillerymen never received the order to fire; Hull had made up his mind to surrender. His provisions were not sufficient for a lengthy siege, and he had received no word from McArthur and Cass. In their absence he had but 1,060 men fit for duty within the fort. With an exaggerated idea of the number of the Indians, he believed his forces greatly outnumbered. The threat of a general massacre, if he resisted, appalled him. He shrank from the carnage which he

thought could do no more than postpone the inevitable capitulation. A crowning blow was the defection of two companies of Michigan militia. "I now became impatient to put the place under the protection of the British," he explained later; "I knew that there were thousands of savages around us."

The British had advanced to within a mile of the waiting guns when Hull withdrew all his forces within the works, and ordered a flag of truce hoisted. He then sent an officer to Brock to ask for a cessation of hostilities. Two of Brock's aides soon arrived to arrange the terms of surrender, and the articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed. The dejected American soldiers, feeling themselves betrayed by their commander, stacked their arms and marched out of the fort. Shortly after noon the British entered, lowered the American flag and hoisted the Union Jack, to the strains of "God Save the King" and the booming of cannon. Once again after sixty years Detroit was under British control.

Brush's detachment at the River Raisin was included in the terms of surrender, but he refused to acknowledge them and withdrew to Ohio. The terms also included the detachment under McArthur and Cass, which had gone as far as Godfroy's trading post (Ypsilanti) on the Huron River, where Brush had been directed to meet it by way of the back trail. Finding the trail impractical for his convoy, or refusing to take a chance that the Indians would not have blockaded this as well as the river road, Brush had never left Frenchtown. Not finding him at Godfroy's, McArthur and Cass returned on the evening of August 15 to camp about three miles from Detroit, the next day withdrawing some distance farther off. Already deeply involved in a plot to supplant their incompetent commander, they neither went to his support nor informed him of their whereabouts. However justified may have been their lack of confidence in Hull, their conduct helped to bring about the result they feared.

Most of the officers and men of the American regular army were sent to Montreal as prisoners of war, while the militia were allowed to return to their homes on parole. Hull was later exchanged, and was court-martialed for his conduct. Found guilty of cowardice, neglect of duty, and unofficerlike conduct, his sentence of death was remitted by President Madison. There can be no question of his

indecisiveness, or of his failure in the moment of crisis, but the fault was as much that of the War Department as his own. Lack of preparation in the years previous to the war, failure to heed his early recommendation for control of the lakes, and to provide support on the Niagara and Montreal fronts, all contributed to the fiasco. Though the result might appear inevitable, a stronger and more energetic man than Hull would have defended Detroit to the last. Brock won glory partly because of Hull's weakness; without that weakness the result could have been a British defeat. Hull was not a coward, but he lacked other qualities necessary for his position as commander of the Northwestern army.

Detroit's quick surrender permitted Brock to return to the Niagara frontier in time to meet the long-delayed American attack there. Leaving Colonel Procter in command in the west, he was back at Fort George by August 24. With an army of fifteen hundred regulars, militia, and Indians, he prepared to defend the Niagara frontier against six thousand militia and regulars under General Stephen Van Rensselaer and General Alexander Smyth. Brock died on October 13 leading his men against the American invaders on Queenston Heights. Major-General Roger Hale Sheaffe was appointed to succeed him in the command of Upper Canada, but he could not replace Brock, one of the very few able commanders engaged during the war on either side.

#### GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

THE FALL OF DETROIT ended for more than a year American control north of the Maumee River. Colonel Procter, in command on the Detroit frontier, was directed to check any effort on the part of the Americans to establish posts on the Maumee or along Lake Erie, which could form bases for attacks during the winter when the ground was frozen and the roads made passable. Otherwise, he was to take no offensive measures. Events were to prove him unequal to the task of keeping the Americans from the line of the Maumee, but until the latter gained naval control on Lake Erie, Detroit and Malden remained free from attack.

On September 17, 1812, President Madison appointed Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana, the hero of Tippecanoe and a man of much military experience and ability, to take command of a new Northwestern army. This army had been assembled in Kentucky and Ohio during the latter part of the summer by General James Winchester, another of those elderly and long inactive veterans of the War of Independence whom the War Department was accustomed to place in high command. As a major-general in the Kentucky militia and a brigadier-general in the United States army, Harrison had previously been subordinate to Winchester. At the time of Harrison's appointment both men were in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, Indiana, engaged in a campaign against the hostile Indians of the West.

Harrison's orders were to protect the western frontier, recapture Detroit, and then move against Upper Canada. His plans involved holding the line of the Maumee River from Fort Defiance to the Rapids, where a base (the later Fort Meigs) was to be established for the advance on Detroit. Winchester's army, which was at Fort Defiance at the junction of the Auglaize and the Maumee, was to move eastward down the Maumee to the Rapids, where it would be joined by two other columns advancing from Ohio. One of these would proceed over the road opened by Hull through the Black Swamp; the other down the Sandusky River to Lake Erie and thence along the shore, skirting the eastern end of the swamp. Each column would be separately supplied, which could be more easily done than if the whole force were united. Blockhouse forts were to be built along their routes to protect the communications with Ohio. If all went well an overwhelming force would be collected at the Rapids, with artillery, provisions, and other supplies necessary for the advance on Detroit. British control of the lakes was a problem not yet met, but for the moment, after the harbors and rivers froze over, it might be disregarded.

During the remainder of 1812, General Harrison harried the Indians in Ohio and Indiana, burning their villages and destroying their food supplies, while preparations were made for the advance to the Rapids. By the middle of December about fifteen hundred men, chiefly militia from Virginia and Pennsylvania, had assembled at Upper and Lower Sandusky, and General Winchester was in

readiness to march from Fort Defiance. But the utmost exertions of the center column could not enable it to force a way through the Black Swamp, which was still unfrozen. Harrison therefore made a temporary change in his plans. After establishing his headquarters at Upper Sandusky, in order to oversee the preparations in that quarter, he sent word to Winchester to move immediately to the Rapids, and prepare sleds for an attack on Malden, which would be made as soon as the ice on the lake was sufficiently strong.

Acting on these orders Winchester, with thirteen hundred men, marched down the Maumee and arrived at the Rapids on January 10, 1813. A few days later he began to receive messages from the inhabitants of Frenchtown on the River Raisin urging him to come to their relief. The village was guarded only by a small force of British and Indians, who were rounding up all known American sympathizers and sending them to Malden, and threatening to burn the place. A rapid advance from the Rapids would not only insure the safety of Frenchtown, but would prevent the British from shipping to Malden a large quantity of flour and grain stored there. Such were the arguments advanced by the inhabitants, who failed to mention the obvious fact that any force occupying Frenchtown was in grave danger of being cut off by British forces from Amherstburg, only a few miles away across the frozen Detroit River.

Winchester decided to take the risk, and on the morning of January 17 about six hundred sixty men, half of his army, was dispatched to the River Raisin. Under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Lewis the detachment traveled on the ice near the shore of Lake Erie, reaching the mouth of the Raisin that afternoon. Fifty Canadian militiamen and at least two hundred Indians under the command of Major Ebenezer Reynolds opposed them on the north side, but the Americans crossed the frozen river in the face of their fire, forcing them to retreat towards Brownstown. The pursuit was continued for two miles, after which Lewis withdrew his men to Frenchtown. His losses included twelve killed and fifty-five wounded; the British and Indians probably suffered about the same number of casualties.

In response to Lewis' request for reinforcements to hold the place, Winchester dispatched Colonel Wells with about three hundred

men, who arrived on January 20. Winchester himself moved up to take command. Most of his army was now in an exposed position forty miles from its base, which was guarded by no more than three hundred men under Brigadier-General John Payne. Lewis' men were encamped on the north bank of the Raisin behind a semicircle of pickets protecting the northern limits of the village. The regulars under Wells now established themselves outside the enclosed area on the right, with no protection except a rail fence. Winchester made his headquarters in the comfortable home of Francis Navarre, more than half a mile away on the south side of the river, and took no steps to improve the inadequate defenses of his men. Some of the militia officers also quartered themselves in houses throughout the village.

The storm broke upon the unsuspecting Americans in the darkness just before dawn, January 22, 1813. Procter had led a force of nearly six hundred regulars and militiamen, with at least as many Indians under the Wyandot chief Roundhead, across the ice from Malden to Brownstown two days before. The next day he advanced to Stony Creek only six miles from the Raisin. The predawn attack that followed caught the Americans unprepared. The regulars behind the rail fence, suddenly aroused from sleep, suffered heavily from the fire of three three-pound cannon and three howitzers in the center of the British line. When Winchester finally arrived from his headquarters on the south side of the Raisin, he ordered the regulars to withdraw to that stream. The Indians now outflanked them on the right, and the retreat became a headlong flight that did not stop at the river. The militia in the picketed area on the left had as yet scarcely lost a man, but they were running short of ammunition. When Winchester, who had been captured by the Indians, ordered the men to surrender in order to prevent a massacre, they obeyed. More than five hundred American soldiers were taken prisoners.

Fearing that General Harrison might arrive at any moment with reinforcements, Procter immediately withdrew to Stony Creek. Some of the prisoners were killed on the march by the infuriated Indians, who had lost heavily in the engagement. About eighty of the wounded were left at Frenchtown without protection. A number of these were slaughtered by the savages during the night and the following day. A few of the survivors were eventually removed

to Amherstburg, the rest were taken to distant Indian villages. More than one hundred Americans lost their lives during the battle or the massacre that followed. The British lost twenty four soldiers killed and 158 wounded, as well as an undetermined number of Indians. Colonel Procter, promoted to general as a result of his victory, won the undying hatred of the American survivors. "Remember the River Raisin" became the war cry of the Kentuckians, a cry that inspired them at the Battle of the Thames where Tecumseh and many of his warriors died.

Harrison had moved up to the Rapids from Sandusky with artillery and several hundred of the militia as soon as he learned of Winchester's dangerous advance to Frenchtown. Unable to prevent the loss of most of Winchester's army, Harrison was forced back on the defensive. A few weeks later he began the construction of Fort Meigs below the Rapids on the Maumee, some twelve miles from the mouth of the river. Fort Stephenson, a less permanent fortification, had already been built at the mouth of the Sandusky River to protect the approaches to Sandusky Bay, as well as the communications between the Maumee and the settled parts of Ohio. This fort also presented an obstacle to any enemy approach by land to Presque Isle (or Erie), Pennsylvania, 150 miles farther east. Here shipbuilders were constructing vessels for a fleet to contest the British control of Lake Erie.

A successful attack on Erie, unguarded until after Lieutenant (later Captain) Oliver Hazard Perry arrived late in March, 1813, would have destroyed the greatest potential danger to the British on the western frontier, and greatly delayed its recurrence. But General Procter delayed, and in April Perry obtained four small guns and some muskets from Pittsburgh, and induced the local commander of the Pennsylvania militia to station five hundred men at Erie. Procter had only a small force of regulars at his disposal, in addition to the militia, and the Indians whom he found difficult to use effectively. The British fleet on the lake was short of supplies and seamen. The American activities on Lake Ontario and at Niagara precluded any hope of assistance from that quarter. When Procter did take the offensive it was against Fort Meigs, which presented a closer and more immediate threat than did Erie.

On April 23, Procter embarked at Amherstburg for the expedi-

tion against Fort Meigs. Landing on the north bank of the Maumee opposite the fort, he besieged it from May 1 to May 9 with heavy guns. His forces consisted of about twelve hundred regulars and militia, and an equal number of Indians led by Tecumseh and Roundhead. General Harrison held the fort with thirteen hundred men. An American reinforcement of about the same number of men under General Green Clay was moving down the river from Fort Defiance. Its arrival during the siege was the occasion of a costly defeat of a detachment of more than eight hundred Americans under Colonel William Dudley. Drawn into an ambush by the Indians, nearly all were killed or taken prisoners. But the Indians then began to drift away to their villages laden with booty; and the Canadian militiamen became impatient to get back to their farms for the spring planting. Procter was forced to raise the siege and return to Malden.

Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief, saw the expediency of an attack on Erie, where the construction of Perry's ships was proceeding rapidly. In answer to Procter's pleas he directed General Francis De Rottenburg, now in command at Niagara, to send reinforcements and supplies to Malden. But De Rottenburg refused to weaken his own forces by doing so and Procter was compelled to confine himself to more limited objectives. He planned an attack on Sandusky, but bowed to the wishes of the Indians and agreed to make another attempt to take Fort Meigs. On July 21 he appeared before that place with about four hundred regulars and militia and one thousand Indians. A week later the siege was raised, many of the Indians having departed for their homes after failing to draw the garrison into an ambush outside the fort. Procter then proceeded by water to the lower Sandusky, followed on shore by the two hundred Indians who remained. Major George Croghan, the commander at Fort Stephenson, refused to evacuate the fort as directed by General Harrison, or to surrender to the British under the usual threats of an Indian massacre. On the afternoon of August 2, after an extensive bombardment by the British artillery and the guns of the gunboats, Procter ordered an assault. It was repulsed with heavy loss to the attackers, who then withdrew to Malden.

In the meantime Perry had completed the construction of two

brigs and three schooners at Erie. By July 23 these were rigged, armed, and ready for service, although men were lacking to man them. They were built of green timber obtained in the vicinity, but the armament and other supplies had to be brought from Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, or Washington. A month earlier, as a result of the British withdrawal from the line of the Niagara River, a brig, three schooners, and a sloop left Black Rock where they had been altered and equipped. They escaped the British fleet and arrived at Erie. Perry now had a fleet of sufficient size to challenge the British, as soon as additional crews could be obtained. He was also faced with the problem of getting his two new brigs across the shallow bar at the entrance to the harbor. This could only be done by removing the guns to lighten them, thus leaving them temporarily defenseless against the British vessels watching outside. Fortunately for the Americans, Captain Robert H. Barclay, now in command of the British fleet, sailed off to Long Point, and was absent from June 30 to August 4. This gave Perry just time to get his unarmed vessels, with their hulls lifted by floats, across the bar. When Barclay appeared again the American fleet was in readiness on the lake.

Short of men and provisions, and with an inferior force, Barclay withdrew to Amherstburg to await the completion of his new ship, the *Detroit*. On August 6, Lieutenant Perry put out from Erie, but finding the enemy nowhere in sight returned to take on provisions, as well as supplies for Harrison's army at Sandusky. A few days later Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott arrived with 102 officers and men to help man the ships. On August 12, Perry took his fleet westward, hoping to meet the British fleet or to intercept boats bringing provisions to Amherstburg from Long Point. But Barclay kept his ships moored under the guns of Fort Malden, while the finishing touches were put on the *Detroit*, and Perry established headquarters at Put-in-Bay in the Bass Islands, a few miles north of Sandusky Bay. After discussing with Harrison plans for the destruction of the British fleet and the invasion of Canada, Perry returned from Sandusky to Put-in-Bay with nearly one hundred Kentucky riflemen to complete the manning of his ships.

As soon as the *Detroit* was ready for action, Barclay decided to accept the challenge of the American fleet. By no means a timorous commander, he was urged on by Prevost, who wrote that he had

only to dare to be successful; and there was desperate need at Amherstburg for provisions from the east, which could not be brought up in quantity while Perry's ships were on the watch. Barclay's fleet now consisted of the *Detroit* armed with seventeen long guns and two carronades taken from the ramparts of Fort Malden; the *Queen Charlotte*, seventeen twenty-four pounders; the *Lady Prevost*, thirteen guns; the *Hunter*, eight small guns; and two gunboats armed with one or two guns apiece. Most of the armament on all these vessels consisted of long guns. The opposing American squadron was superior in number and size of vessels, as well as in the caliber of its guns, but most of the latter were carronades. The *Lawrence* and the *Niagara* had eighteen thirty-two pound carronades and two long twelves each; the *Caledonia* (the North West Company's brig captured from the British and refitted at Black Rock) had three guns; six other vessels mounted from one to four guns of varying sizes apiece.

The British fleet was sighted off Put-in-Bay at daybreak of September 10. As it slowly approached, driven by a light wind from the northwest, the American fleet stood out to meet it. Because of the British advantage in long range guns, and the American in carronades, Perry had given orders for his ships to close with the enemy as quickly as possible. Suddenly the wind shifted to the southeast favoring the American ships. Shortly before noon, when the two opposing columns were almost parallel to each other, and the ships had turned to face their designated opponents, the *Detroit* opened fire with her long guns on Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*. Three of the smaller American vessels supported the *Lawrence* with their long guns as she moved forward to engage the *Detroit*. Soon both ships were lying almost side by side, fighting with every weapon they could bring to bear. Lieutenant Elliott in command of the *Niagara*, instead of closing with the *Queen Charlotte* according to plan, stood off and fired his two long guns at her. The latter ignored her distant assailant and joined in the attack on the *Lawrence*.

By half past two in the afternoon the *Lawrence* was put completely out of action, her guns dismounted and silent and all but twenty of her crew wounded or dead. Perry was determined not to be put out of the fight himself. Leaving the shattered flagship he rowed to the *Niagara*, which had approached within a short distance and

was almost untouched. Immediately afterwards the *Lawrence* struck her colors. Perry ordered Elliott to row back to the four schooners in the rear and bring them into battle, while he took command of the *Niagara*. He then bore down on the center of the British fleet, pouring broadsides into the almost helpless *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, as well as the smaller enemy vessels. Soon the whole British fleet surrendered on orders from Barclay, who had been badly wounded while fighting bravely on board the *Detroit*. The British lost forty-one killed and ninety-four wounded; the Americans twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded, the great majority of them on the *Lawrence*. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," Perry wrote to Harrison, "two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The American victory made Procter's position on the Detroit River untenable. The way was open for an attack on Fort Malden, whose garrison and heavy guns had been depleted to help service Barclay's fleet. There was also the pressing problem of the food supply. During the past year thousands of Indians had been driven out of Indiana and Illinois as Harrison's forces laid waste their villages and cornfields. Seeking British support, they had gathered in great numbers at Mackinac and elsewhere in the north; many had come down to Amherstburg. At this time it was estimated that the warriors and their families dependent on the government bounty at Malden numbered about fourteen thousand. Their wasteful killing of the inhabitants' cattle, and consumption of other provisions, had nearly exhausted local supplies. Lack of roads made lake transport the only means of bringing in food in any quantity from the east. Now this was cut off by American control of Lake Erie.

By September 26, 1813, Harrison had assembled his forces for the invasion of Canada at Middle Sister Island north of Put-in-Bay. The next day they were landed at Hartley's Point, below Amherstburg, without opposition. Procter was at that moment withdrawing eastward along Lake St. Clair towards the Thames River, his only avenue of escape. He had left Malden on September 24 after burning the public buildings there. Similar destruction was done at Sandwich and Detroit before departing two days later. The American army moved up to Sandwich on September 29, and the

next day Colonel Richard Johnson's mounted regiment of Kentuckians, which had marched from Ohio by land, arrived in Detroit. On October 2, Harrison started in pursuit of Procter with about twenty-five hundred men.

The British army was encamped on the north bank of the Thames a short distance below the site of Chatham. Surprised by the rapid advance of the Americans, which was made possible by a sudden frost and hardening of the muddy road, Procter hastily continued his retreat up the north bank of the river. But Tecumseh and his warriors, having lost all faith in the British commander, decided to make a stand at Chatham on the south, at the mouth of McGregor's Creek. The Americans arrived about noon on October 4, and after a sharp skirmish in which several were killed or wounded on both sides, drove the Indians from two partially demolished bridges over the creek. That night the army encamped at a farm four miles beyond Chatham. The next morning it pressed on, capturing a number of boats laden with Procter's stores which were stranded in the shallow river. Some of them had been set on fire, as had an occasional mill or house filled with arms and provisions.

A few miles farther on the American army forded the Thames and advanced cautiously up the north bank to the site of the village of Thamesville, where the British had spent the night. Here it was learned that Procter was preparing to make a stand three miles beyond. He had selected a position between the river and a small swamp, where large beech trees, free of underbrush, offered but slight protection for his 850 regulars and militia. Beyond the small swamp on the north was a much larger one which ran at a slight angle to the river, approaching it most nearly at the British lines. Tecumseh's Indians, about eight hundred in number, occupied the less open ground between the two swamps, and were also extended westward along the edge of the larger one to outflank the Americans. This position was about a mile and a half to the west of Moraviantown, where Procter had planned to make his stand, and where he had left six small cannon. The one cannon that he had with him was without ammunition.

When the American forces arrived and were drawn up in battle order, a clear bugle call rang through the forest and the first brigade of the Kentucky mounted regiment moved forward against

the British infantry. Momentarily slowed by a volley from the enemy lines, the horsemen soon began an impetuous charge that carried all before it. Gaining the rear of the British the Kentuckians forced them to surrender. Procter did not wait to see the outcome, but fled eastward with his personal staff and a few mounted men. This action lasted but a few minutes, and was all over before that on the American left had more than begun. Here Colonel Richard Johnson, in command of the second brigade of Kentuckians, was severely wounded as he rode at the head of twenty of his men to draw the enemy fire. The rest of the brigade dismounted to meet the furious onrush of the Indians, and the fighting raged for some time. The Indians along the edge of the large swamp attacked the first line of American infantry, which had been drawn up in position to guard the left flank. Some impression was made on the infantry, until the reserve troops under Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky poured in a sharp fire, and some of Colonel Richard Johnson's men gained the rear of the Indians. Tecumseh had been slain at the beginning of the fight, possibly by Johnson, although there are eight or ten accounts each naming a different person. His surviving warriors now fled into the swamp pursued by the vengeful Kentuckians, who had not forgotten the massacre of the River Raisin.

Thirty-three Indians were found dead on the field, and others must have been killed in the retreat. The American loss was seven killed and twenty-two wounded, five of whom died of their wounds. The British lost twelve killed, thirty-six wounded, and six hundred prisoners; as well as all their artillery, ammunition wagons, small arms, and personal property. Procter with eighteen officers and 228 men eventually made his way to Burlington Heights at the head of Lake Ontario, where General John Vincent had retreated from the Niagara frontier on hearing of the defeat. Procter was court-martialed in December of the following year, and found guilty on several counts of bad leadership. He was publicly reprimanded and suspended from rank and pay for six months. Like Hull, he had proved unequal in the crisis.

## STALEMATE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

HARRISON HAD DESTROYED PROCTER'S ARMY and broken the most effective Indian resistance in the west. Control of the Detroit frontier was to remain securely in American hands until the end of the war. But Harrison knew that he could not continue his advance across the southern peninsula of Upper Canada. There was nothing but a trail through the forest separating Moraviantown and Delaware, over which his heavy baggage could not pass. The difficulty of supplying a large army would have been almost insurmountable. Logic seemed to dictate withdrawal to the Detroit, whence the army could be transported by way of Lake Erie to the Niagara frontier. Moraviantown was plundered and burned to the ground, partly in revenge for the massacre of the River Raisin, partly as a precaution against its use by the British during the coming winter. On October 7, Harrison began the withdrawal of his forces to Sandwich.

On October 19, Harrison and Perry left the Detroit with a flotilla of ships transporting thirteen hundred men, bound for Niagara. Colonel Lewis Cass was left in command on the Detroit frontier; ten days later the President appointed him governor of Michigan. American communications were now secure from Detroit to Sackett's Harbor at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. When Fort Gratiot was constructed at the head of the St. Clair River the following May, any British water transport was cut off between the Thames River and the British-held Fort Michilimackinac. Harrison had planned an expedition against that post before his departure from Detroit, but lack of provisions and the lateness of the season forced him to give it up. It was not until the following summer that an attempt was made to recapture Fort Michilimackinac.

In spite of their successes on the Detroit and Niagara frontiers, the American forces were never able to drive the British from the western end of Lake Ontario. Raids on Long Point and on York were made from across the lakes, but the northern shores of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario remained in British hands. The Thames River became a sort of no-man's land subject to constant raids conducted by both sides, although the Americans exercised a general

control west of Moraviantown and the British from Delaware eastward. A few weeks after the Battle of the Thames, the British established a small post at Delaware to check the inroads of American light horsemen, who rode far up the river on foraging expeditions, while administering the oath of neutrality to the inhabitants. Delaware also served as a base from which British patrols ranged down the river as far as Lake St. Clair.

During the early morning of December 15, 1813, one of these patrols surprised and captured a detachment of thirty-nine American officers and men who were sleeping in a farm house a few miles below Chatham. This post was intended as a counterpart to that at Delaware, but it was never reconstituted. Cass sent a large force to the Thames in an effort to intercept the British. It returned to Sandwich on finding the enemy had already departed. A few days later Cass left for Albany to give evidence in the trial of General Hull, leaving Colonel Anthony Butler in temporary command at Detroit. Butler sent frequent detachments to the Thames to purchase grain and cattle and to oppose the British patrols.

Late in January, 1814, a small group of mounted militia, led by a former resident of Delaware who had deserted to Hull, raided the post at Delaware. This force captured several Canadian officers and men and burned some buildings before retreating down the river. It was probably the success of this raid that induced Butler to send out Captain Andrew H. Holmes of the Twenty-fourth Regiment, with one hundred eighty regulars and Michigan militia, with orders to strike at Delaware or Port Talbot, a small settlement on Lake Erie a few miles to the south. The detachment set out on February 21, carrying two six-pound cannon, through the roadless forest along Lake Erie. Holmes hoped to preserve secrecy by taking this route until he reached the western end of the Talbot Road a few miles from Port Talbot. But the forest and swamp forced him to abandon his artillery at a point opposite the mouth of the Thames. He continued to Rondeau Bay, southeast of Chatham, where he was joined by eighty Michigan Rangers who had been pursuing a group of Canadian militia. With these he decided to carry out an attack on Delaware, abandoning his designs against Port Talbot.

Crossing to the Thames, the detachment rode rapidly through the Longwoods, the forty miles of forest that lay between Moraviantown

and Delaware. Fifteen miles from his destination Holmes learned that Captain James Basden was approaching with a force of two hundred forty British regulars, militia, and Indians. He thereupon retreated to a creek three miles to the east of the present village of Wardsville, and took up a strong position on the west side of a deep ravine, which he protected by a breastwork of logs on three sides. Basden arrived on March 4 to send his regulars storming up the ice-covered slope in front, while the Indians and militia attacked from either side. The result was a defeat for the British, who were forced to retire with a loss of two officers and twelve men killed, two prisoners, and fifty-one wounded, of whom five or six died within a few days. The American loss in this "Battle of the Longwoods" was slight, but Holmes immediately retreated down the river. His objective had been accomplished. The alarmed British evacuated Delaware and moved their advance post back to Oxford, thirty-five miles farther to the east.

Even here the American raiders, led by renegade Canadians, sought them out. In April, three scouts surprised a militia officer in bed at Oxford and brought him bound to Detroit. Parties of American horsemen searched along the river for other inhabitants who were active in the British cause. On May 20, Port Talbot on Lake Erie was raided by a party of thirty mounted riflemen. In July and August, raids were made on Oxford and Port Talbot, during which much private property was destroyed. The western part of Upper Canada was being devastated as far as Long Point and the Grand River.

At this time a determined effort was made to capture Fort Michilimackinac, and to cut the British line of communication between Toronto and the Northwest at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River on Georgian Bay. On July 12, an expedition commanded by Major George Croghan entered Lake Huron, having been delayed for more than a week by contrary winds after leaving Detroit. About the same time a British expedition from Fort Michilimackinac left for Prairie du Chien where the Americans had recently completed Fort Shelby, which commanded the upper Mississippi and the mouth of the Wisconsin River. The British took the fort on July 19, renaming it Fort McKay, and kept it until the peace treaty at the end of the war included it in the territory returned to the Ameri-

cans. One day later Croghan arrived at St. Joseph Island with more than seven hundred men on board five ships of the Lake Erie squadron. Finding the fort there deserted, he burned it and sent Andrew H. Holmes, now a major, with a detachment to destroy the property of the North West Company at Sault Ste Marie. When this had been accomplished Croghan sailed for Mackinac Island, which was reached on August 4. A landing was made on the west side of the island, but as the Americans advanced towards Fort Michilimackinac they found themselves opposed by a force of several hundred British regulars, militia, and Indians, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert McDouall. The ensuing battle ended with a victory for the British, who were in a good defensive position and suffered little loss. On the American side Major Holmes and twelve privates were killed, and three officers and forty-eight men wounded.

Giving up the attempt to take Fort Michilimackinac, Croghan sent part of his force back to Detroit and sailed for Georgian Bay with three companies of regulars on board the *Tigris*, the *Scorpion*, and the *Niagara*. On August 13, he anchored off the mouth of the Nottawasaga River. Some distance up the river lay the British schooner *Nancy*, protected by a blockhouse and a small British garrison under the command of Lieutenant Miller Worsley. The next day American howitzers were set up on shore and began to shell the fort. The garrison soon retired up the river, leaving the *Nancy* in flames. Croghan burned the blockhouse and left for Detroit on board the *Niagara*, having decided that the position was too exposed to be held. The other two vessels remained to patrol the area and to cut British communications with Mackinac and Sault Ste Marie.

Lieutenant Worsley had his revenge. Making his way by canoe to Fort Michilimackinac, he obtained four small boats and a number of soldiers, with which he carried out the daring exploit of capturing the American vessels. On the night of September 3, the *Tigris* was boarded off Drummond Island. It was taken with a small loss on both sides, as was the *Scorpion* two nights later when it anchored near its sister ship, not suspecting that it was in enemy hands. With these two armed vessels the British had a navy on Lake Huron which was able to keep open their communications between Lake Ontario and Mackinac.

On October 9, Brigadier-General Duncan McArthur arrived at Detroit from Ohio with six hundred mounted Kentucky volunteers and seventy Indians, in answer to Governor Cass' appeal for reinforcements. McArthur had first planned an expedition against the hostile Potawatomi villages in southwestern Michigan, but had been forced to give it up because of lack of volunteers, provisions, and naval vessels. Upon his arrival at Detroit he decided to lead his men eastward through Upper Canada, to destroy the mills in the vicinity of the Grand River and Burlington Heights, and thus lay waste British resources. He also planned an attack on the British position at Burlington, as a diversion in favor of the American forces under Major-General George Izard at Fort Erie.

On October 23, McArthur set out from Detroit with the force that he had brought from Ohio, reinforced by fifty mounted Michigan militiamen. He advanced up the Michigan side of Lake St. Clair with the announced intention of attacking the Indians of the Saginaw Bay region. On October 27 he crossed the St. Clair River into Canada and occupied the tiny settlement of Baldoon. After waiting here four days until boats arrived from Detroit to ferry the detachment across Big Bear Creek, McArthur proceeded along the east branch of that stream (now the River Sydenham) until he was opposite Moraviantown, when he crossed to the Thames. Moving up the river he reached Oxford by November 4. Here considerable public property was destroyed. Two days later he was at the Grand River at Brantford. The river was then too high to be forded, and as it was reported that a force of British regulars from Burlington was approaching to intercept him, McArthur left part of his men to oppose it at Brantford and turned back with the rest to destroy Malcolm's Mills near Burford. Here he defeated a body of militia; while the detachment at the Grand River was equally successful in its clash with the regulars. McArthur reported his losses in both engagements as one killed and six wounded. The British lost eighteen killed, nine wounded, and about one hundred twenty prisoners.

Word now reached McArthur that General Izard had left Canada on November 5 after destroying Fort Erie. Abandoning his plan to proceed to Burlington Bay he turned southward to Dover, near Long Point. Here he destroyed five mills, a number of houses

and much other property, and took several prisoners. The return to Detroit was made by way of the Talbot Road to a point south of Delaware, and thence down the Thames River. This was the most devastating raid of the war, as well as the last action of any importance on the Detroit frontier before the signing of the treaty of peace on December 24, 1814.

The Treaty of Ghent provided for the return by both countries of all conquered territory. On July 1, 1815, Fort Malden passed into British hands; on July 18 American troops under Colonel Butler occupied Fort Michilimackinac. The British North American provinces had kept their independence of the United States, but the Ohio Valley was finally lost to them. For the United States the War of 1812 completed what the War of Independence had begun: her boundaries were confirmed, and her status as an independent nation was fully recognized by Great Britain. Despite her failures in Canada her national pride was aroused by victories on the Thames, on Lake Erie, on the Atlantic, and at New Orleans. For the Indians the war was a complete defeat. Tecumseh was dead, and his dream of preserving the lands and ways of his people was ended forever.

#### RECOMMENDED READING

The most recent and detailed book on the western phase of the War of 1812 is Alec R. Gilpin, *The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest* (East Lansing, 1958). Its bibliography contains most of the important primary and secondary materials. Not included is A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, 2 volumes (Boston, 1919), which has been found very useful in preparing the present article; and Glen Tucker, *Poltroons and Patriots, A Popular Account of the War of 1812*, 2 volumes (New York, 1954). Among the books listed by Gilpin the following will be found especially useful: Francis F. Beirne, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1949); Charles P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford, 1906); Robert B. McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country* (Lexington, 1816); Milo M. Quaife, editor, *War on the Detroit—The Chronicles of Thomas Verchères de Boucherville and The Capit-*

ulation by an Ohio Volunteer (Chicago, 1940); and John Richardson, *The War of 1812*, edited by A. C. Casselman (Toronto, 1902).

*Michigan in the War of 1812* by Fred C. Hamil is the fourth in a special series designed especially for school children and made possible through the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund. Copies of *Michigan's White Pine Era, 1840-1900* by Dr. Rolland H. Maybee, *Michigan Soldiers in the Civil War* by Dr. Frederick D. Williams, and *Conservation of Michigan's Natural Resources* by Dr. Eugene T. Petersen, as well as Dr. Hamil's *Michigan in the War of 1812* may be secured in pamphlet form. Individual copies sell for \$1.00. Teachers receive a discount of 50 per cent; dealers and historical societies ordering ten or more copies are given a discount of 40 per cent. Checks should be made payable to the Munson Michigan History Fund and sent to the Michigan Historical Commission, Lewis Cass Building, Lansing 13, Michigan.

## America's First Successful Logging Railroad

*Hudson Keenan*

IN THE NEARLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS which have elapsed since the formation of Clare County, one historical event stands out which distinguishes this county from others which had a similar colorful lumber era. This event was the building of the first logging railway in the lake states and the first logging railway using iron rails in the United States. The railroad is the subject of a beautiful and appropriate marker which has been erected north of Clare by the people of the state of Michigan through the Michigan Historical Commission.

On a sunny fall day in the year 1958 if one were to visit the area of Temple, as we did, one would scarcely be aware of the history willed to this section of our state. Where once pine reigned supreme, now solid stands of scrub oak hang on to their leaves of crimson until they turn brown and are blown away by winter winds. In still other areas, the jack pine testifies to the sand soils of the outwash plain. The town itself, laid out in blocks, has many homes missing and others in a state of decay. Yes, this is a village, like so many others, which owes its existence to lumber of another day. One ponders its future, considers its past, and continues on his way.

Just south of the village one might miss this historical feature if it were not pointed out. Carefully scanning the landscape one can see a low mound of earth stretching across the field past the pine stumps into the second growth in the distance. This is all that remains of the first successful logging railroad of its type in the United States. The old roadbed holds us in fascination and we leave the county road and hike to the west toward the Muskegon River. We pass full grown trees in the middle of the right of way and flush a grouse from the brush which occupies the ditch which once drained the grade. Our feet trod ground once rolled over by steel. The ties are gone but organic matter has formed a base for pioneer plants to grow in the sterile sands. Like shadows they echo the presence of something which one may not see but still sense.

As we near the river, the grade grows steeper and soon we find ourselves commanding a view from the high banks of the rollways of the Muskegon River. The calmness of fall fades from the mind. The banks become piled with timber waiting for high water in the spring. Our gaze turns from the stream to the woods and the scrub oak disappear; instead buildings, lumberjacks, rivermen, some dwellings, and logging cars take their place.

From the top of the high dump where logs could be directly discharged into the river, our daydreaming is stopped by something in the river below which catches our eye. Scrambling down the steep bank we moved close to the water and our suspicions are confirmed, for there lying in the water is a portion of an iron rail covered with rust, stones, and plant life of seventy years since last it may have seen service. The shifting sands of the changing waters of the river have probably held it secret for many years. One wonders how many logs might be found if the river were to give them up. The past is evidenced by records of many types; it remains for us to probe them.

The state of the nation following the Civil War was one of a rapidly expanding America. Michigan pine was to build the homes of the plains states and therefore it was in great demand. The first lumbering interests removed the timber adjacent to streams where it could be quickly and easily hauled to a water course and sent to the mills. Although Michigan abounds in rivers many of them were some distance from fine stands of pine timber. By the early 1870's many lumbering operations extended some distance from a stream. Teams of horses or oxen skidded out logs on hard packed snow roads. Many firms used sprinklers to supplant nature in forming ice roads on which unusually large loads could be moved.

Two factors made this method expensive and frequently an impossible task. First, there was a limit to the distance which logs could be hauled profitably; and current prices, time and topography were important considerations. Second, mother nature had her own ideas on what the weather ought to be, and removed the covering of ice and snow at will. It was this latter problem that probably dominated the discussion among lumbermen in Farwell and Clare City during the winter of 1874 and 1875. Timbermen were going farther and farther from the streams to gather their product,

a hard job in itself. To top it off, two winters in succession had passed with virtually no snow.

Among the lumbermen in Clare County at this time was Winfield Scott Gerrish, who was born in Maine, raised at Croton in Newaygo County, and now at the age of twenty-five had made his first logging contract to remove some sixteen million feet of timber in the vicinity of Freeman Township. Gerrish planned to use the Doc and Tom Creek by damming, sluicing, and banking to get his logs to the Muskegon River. He eventually succeeded in this task but only in the face of great inconvenience and expense. The experiences which he gained in this venture undoubtedly spurred him on to construct the first logging railroad when the idea presented itself. The drive and enthusiasm to succeed which young Gerrish had is summed up in the following trade journal account written in the journalistic style of the day in which Gerrish is the main figure.

The timber was to be banked on the Doc And Tom Creek and delivered in the Muskegon. The following spring (1874) found him with logging done in good time, and preparations completed for the drive. Driving was presently begun and vigorously prosecuted, but this treacherous stream, the terror of log drivers of the Muskegon district, soon shrunk to a rivulet, while the drive was not finished. In those days the, State Of Mainers, as the Maine lumbermen were familiarly called, knew everything, so to speak; this possibly was a mild illusion, yet they were quite free with their advice to the green Michigan boys. It is not surprising therefore, that some of these sons of the old pine tree state visited the Doc and Tom Creek at this time to give Scott a little wholesome advice. The stream being carefully examined and a council thereafter duly held, the young logger was most emphatically advised to abandon the drive, but he happened to be of a contrary opinion. "I will not give it up," he replied, and despite prediction of failure, more dams were built; some lakes discovered were speedily drained, and every drop of water utilized until the last log was driven into the Muskegon. Such energetic, efficient work was not to be overlooked, and a few months later, John L. Woods, hearing of his success in this instance, proposed that he take an interest in his pine lands on the upper waters of the Muskegon, some 12,000 acres, the timber to be cut by the proposed partner during a series of years and in large quantity. The proposition being accepted a much larger field was now before him.

In 1874, in connection with E. H. Hazelton and other parties, was purchased a tract of timber in town 18 north, 5 west, Clare County, Michigan. Not a tree had been cut in this township. There were at this

time few, if any townships in the state so heavily timbered, but being remote from water, from six to ten miles, the pine was not available, and therefore of little value. A small quantity of logs was cut from the tract in question and banked on the Doc and Tom Creek, but the expensive drive absorbed what should have been profit. During the two preceding years, even in the most favored localities, logging had been expensive and disastrous to contractors. Winter snows seemed a thing of the past; new methods were considered; poleroads and tramways were talked of; but steam harnessed to a logging car had not yet been seen on Muskegon waters.<sup>1</sup>

With the winter of 1875 passed and the summer of 1876 at hand, loggers were laying plans with little optimism for the coming winter. This was also the year of our nation's centennial and people attended the exhibition held in Philadelphia in great numbers. Among those in attendance was Scott Gerrish, his wife, and young son. One evening while visiting Mechanic's Hall he noted a small Baldwin locomotive on display among other mechanical marvels of our rapidly growing industrial might. With the experiences of the previous year in the pineries still fresh in his mind he thought immediately of the possibility this engine might have in the woods of far off Michigan. In later correspondence he is said to have made the remark: "Just the kind of a horse to haul logs without snow."

Upon his return to Michigan he began work on his idea of a logging railroad; the resulting corporation was to be known as the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad. The capital stock in this corporation amounted to \$75,000 at \$100 per share. At the outset, however, only \$34,000 was paid in, but as the railroad proved itself stock sales rose and \$55,000 was paid in after the first short season of operation.

Many predicted the failure of the venture. Undoubtedly, many pros and cons were expressed sometime in the late summer of 1876 when nine car loads of light 25 pound T rails arrived in Evart to be sent up river to the site of the future railroad. As the railroad became closer to a reality interest mounted. The Farwell *Register* expressed an interesting view in an editorial.

Should this project prove as successful as anticipated, undoubtedly the question as to the outlet of most of the pine timber in this region will

<sup>1</sup>Perry F. Powers, *A History Of Northern Michigan And Its People*, 1:182-83 (Chicago, 1912). See also Rolland H. Maybee, "Michigan's White Pine Era" in *Michigan History*, 43:417-22 (December, 1959).

be readily disposed of; for by this means of transit, the Muskegon river will be much the most available point and Saginaw will be deprived of a vast amount of timber, hitherto considered among the available sources of her supplies.<sup>2</sup>

At this time Clare County had as much pine timber as any county in the lower peninsula. Its location at the headwaters of all major streams had served to ward off its removal at an earlier date.

The roadbed gradually extended itself from the Muskegon River near Temple some eight miles into the pineries of what is now Lincoln Township. While work was proceeding here, downstream twenty miles in Evart, an interesting event was taking place. The Flint and Pere Marquette were delivering a light steam locomotive built by Porter Bell and Company of Pittsburgh. The small engine called the "Sampson" excited no little curiosity to the residents of the village. Several days after its arrival the operation of getting the engine loaded and transported up stream was started. The *Review* gives the account of the operation.

Yesterday it was loaded with other camp stores on a flat boat to be polled up the river, and the boat moored in the boom of Lamb and Matthews Mill. This morning when getting ready to pull out it was discovered that the boat being loaded above her capacity had settled considerably amidship and was in a sinking condition, she was at once shoved ashore just in time to save sinking in about twelve feet of water. The unexpected mishap will necessitate the unloading of the engine and a overhauling and strengthening of the flat boat, which we learn is being done and will only cause a detention of two or three days when it will be reloaded and taken on its winding way to its place of destination.<sup>3</sup>

The \$3,300 piece of equipment eventually reached its destination safely, as did the thirty cars which were all eventually in service by the end of the first winter. At this point over \$35,000 had been invested before a log was moved. On January 28, 1877, regular operations commenced.

As things turned out the Michigan winter of 1876-77 was another mild one and while others moaned of their troubles the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad was moving logs to the river. Other operators turned to building tramroads, icing special roads, and hauling snow, even dry hauls were tried. By spring the value of the

<sup>2</sup>*Mississippi Valley Lumberman & Manufacturer*, volume 1, number 1, page 4 (December 8, 1876).

<sup>3</sup>*Evart Review*, November 17, 1876.

railroad came into sharp focus with the report that a high percentage of all the logging accomplished in the Muskegon River valley that winter was achieved with the aid of the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad. During the first season of operations the road moved logs on the average of fifty thousand feet a day. At the end of the season the loggers had banked twenty-nine million feet.<sup>4</sup> The rates were \$1.25 per thousand feet, or four and one-half cents a ton mile, and even after the short winter of hauling the stockholders had reason for joy as their net earnings amounted to \$15,610.<sup>5</sup> Lumbermen in the lake states area were quick to note that the company had made almost 30 per cent on its investment during the first year.

With such success, expansion soon followed and the summer of 1877 saw orders placed for more equipment. A new engine arrived in Evart almost a year to the day after the first arrival. It was poled upstream as was its predecessor. Thirty new logging cars were added. The latter were shipped to Lake Station where they were taken into the woods by team. With additions the railroad's capacity was doubled.

While preparations for another year's operation were going on, the railroad was receiving publicity in trade circles across the nation. As reported in the *Evart Review*, the *Chicago Railway Review* had the following references to the road during its first year of operation:

gauge 4'8½"—25 pound rails—heaviest grade 33 ft per mile and 500 ft long—1,900 ft radius curve on a 33 ft per mile grade—300 ft radius, sharpest curve (Engine)—8X14 cylinders—28 inch drivers—8½ tons weight—11 MPH—12 round trips per day—180 miles per day—burns 4 cords of wood per day—30 cars in groups of 15 & 15—stops for 12 hours on Sunday<sup>6</sup>

The quality of the timber was excellent. Gerrish and his associates had little trouble in marketing their product. In one business deal with McGraff and Montgomery of Muskegon the following descriptions were cut, hauled via the railroad to the river to be floated to Muskegon to the firm's mills: W½ of NW¼ Section 18, T18N, R5W, 80 acres; and NE¼ of NE¼ Section 8, 40 acres. In general

<sup>4</sup>*Mississippi Valley Lumberman & Manufacturer*, volume 2, number 6, page 8 (September 14, 1877).

<sup>5</sup>William G. Rector, *Log Transportation in the Lake States Lumber Industry, 1840-1918*, 198-201 (Glendale, California, 1953).

<sup>6</sup>*Evart Review*, November 16, 1877.

terms the first description is one mile west of present-day Lake George and the other one-half mile northeast of the village. The two locations, 120 acres in all, yielded one million two hundred thousand feet of pine timber.<sup>7</sup>

If the winter of 1876-77 was poor for logging operations the one following, 1877-78, would have to be judged very poor. The Muskegon News reported that over the state lumbermen would be lucky to meet 60 to 70 per cent of the timber they had contracted to put in the streams. Meanwhile, the article went on to state that Gerrish with the aid of his railroad was doing about the only logging on the Muskegon at this time (January, 1878). The following information was also related in the interview: "He employs 700 men at present who are divided up into two gangs, one working days, and the other nights—seven nights and six days each week." The article summed up by calling it "Logging Extraordinary."<sup>8</sup>

While all this activity was going on in the Gerrish camp, with the resulting success and publicity, others were not just sitting around waiting for snow. The theme of many a lumber baron in 1878 was, "build logging railroads." The Muskegon Chronicle tells of this situation.

Since the railroad fever has taken such a firm hold of some of the lumbermen a large number of men and teams have been discharged and sent home. Railroad matters, as it regards new roads for lumbering operations, is not all talk by any means. The parties interested are getting down to business and the work is being pushed vigorously.<sup>9</sup>

In this history of America's first successful logging railroad probably no more unique event occurred than the one about to be related. During the second winter of operation a third logging engine was to be added to the two already in operation. This one, however, was not delivered to Evart to be poled upstream, but to Farwell some fifteen miles overland to the railroad. The Farwell Register gives an account of the event. This paper and its file have long disappeared but fortunately the Evart Review copied the article in its entirety.

<sup>7</sup>Log Marks registered in Muskegon County Clerk's Office, April 16, 1877, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup>Mississippi Valley Lumberman & Manufacturer, volume 2, number 27, page 8 (February 8, 1878).

<sup>9</sup>Muskegon Chronicle, March 15, 1878, p. 2.

### A Railroad Engine Steaming Through The Woods Of Clare County Looking For A Track

Perhaps the most novel sight in this line ever seen in Michigan was witnessed here today in the way of a railroad engine steamed up, running thru the woods on a common dirt road. This engine arrived a day or two since on the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad from Pittsburg made expressly for Messrs. Gerrish and Hazelton for their railroad north of this place used in hauling logs to the Muskegon River.

After its arrival here the query was how to get the engine to its destination some 15 miles distant. Two hundred dollars having been offered for the job without avail, the managers conceived the novel plan of getting up steam and trying the wagon road which was put into execution.

This morning steam was gotten up and the engine started northward on the Ionia & Houghton Lake State Road at the west end of town, with cheers and hurrahs from the assembled crowd. It moved off slowly and steadily without any apparent difficulty, followed by a force of men with leavers and teams with water to supply its wants.

The sight was curious and novel, a railroad engine puffing through the tall pines, vomiting fire and smoke, and startling the astonished woodsmen along the route. An astonished mossback came into town the same day and declared that he had seen hell and devils "back here in the woods." The story of a steamboat looking for water may not be hard to believe after this. *Farwell Register*.<sup>10</sup>

Another interesting sidelight in regards to the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad is contained in this news item.

The Board of Supervisors of Clare County at their recent session voted to move the county seat from Farwell to Budd Lake near the geographical center of the county. As this lake is near the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad, the prospects are that it will carry.<sup>11</sup>

We know today that the county seat was moved to what is now Harrison on Budd Lake. It is also known that the railroad never reached Harrison as no one at the time foresaw the collapse which would come so quickly to the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad. The point is that it was a consideration in the original planning for moving the county seat to its present location.

Logging railroads were starting up in many places by 1879 and in six years there were to be no less than forty-nine in the state of Michigan. The aim behind every venture was to get the timber out of the woods. Get it out of the woods they did. It was quickly

<sup>10</sup>*Evart Review*, February 1, 1878.

<sup>11</sup>*Evart Review*, January 18, 1878.

sent to the mills and for several years production was way up. Perhaps it's an old story in economics, but the result of increased production often ends with more of the commodity than there is demand. Many of the newspapers and periodicals of the mid-eighties pointed an accusing finger at the logging railroad as being the cause of all the lumber industry's troubles. The logging railroad would be around for some twenty years, but the boom would be over shortly after it started.

While other firms were venturing into the logging railroad business, the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad was anxious to increase its earnings, little realizing that this "golden goose," the logging railroad, would soon no longer lay the golden egg of prosperity.

During the first three years of operation the railroad gradually extended itself, added new pieces of equipment, and managed to reduce the freight rate by 35 per cent. The net annual earnings reached \$52,791.66 in 1879. The year 1879 was the last year of high success for the venture for in 1880 there was a net deficit of \$33,640.18. The sudden change in affairs was not quite as abrupt as the figures might lead one to believe. In 1879 the directors decided it was time for a modernization and expansion program. The line was extended until its total length reached 19.8 miles including the main line and logging spurs. The rolling-stock holdings also increased with the following equipment in use in 1881: four locomotives, sixty-five logging cars, one wrecker, one snowplow and one boxcar. During this same period the outstanding capital stock of the road rose to \$98,500 but the total debt now stood at \$96,429.51.<sup>12</sup> This deficit included the expenditure of \$45,261.89 used in the modernization and expansion program.

Besides a gradually declining market price in lumber the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad received another blow on May 19, 1882, with the death of Scott Gerrish, leader and founder of the road. At the time of his death he was traveling from his home in Muskegon to the scene of his operations when he felt sick and stopped at his sister's home in Evart. He died very quickly and it

<sup>12</sup>"Report of the Lake George & Muskegon River Railroad Company for the Year Ending December 31, 1881" in the *Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads of the State of Michigan*, 528-35 (Lansing, 1882).

was feared he had smallpox. The whole town of Evart became alarmed. Four doctors, plus a specialist who arrived on a special train from Grand Rapids, were called in on the case. The opinion was divided as follows: two doctors, he had smallpox; two doctors, he did not have smallpox; one doctor, he didn't know. It is known that he was bothered from time to time with a kidney ailment which the specialist had treated and thought possibly it was the cause of death.

His death brought about the transfer of the company from the list of corporate railroads to one of private interests. The firm of Hackley and Hume operated the road as a private logging railroad for a time. Daniel Carey in his memories of the logging days stated the following in regards to the dissolving of the Gerrish venture:

The Thayer Lumber Company bought the horses, sleighs and camp equipment. The locomotives, cars, and rails were sold and changed hands several times in later years. I saw one of the engines forty-six years ago, running on the Cummer and Diggens railroad. The name Gerrish was on the cab.<sup>13</sup>

The lumber available to the railroad was rapidly being removed. Another factor was the building of the railroad from Clare to Harrison which served as an outlet for a great deal of timber which might have been available to the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad. To the south, logging spurs were constructed north of Lake Station to tap the timber resources on this front. Thus closed in on two sides by the river and two sides by other developments the railroad rapidly was becoming a road with little purpose. The road was not destined to complete dissolution as so many logging railroads were. The Toledo, Ann Arbor and Northern utilized portions of the Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad on its way to Cadillac.<sup>14</sup>

The Lake George and Muskegon River Railroad is significant even though its rather short ten-year history ended with an almost complete collapse. It led the way towards the full development of lumber resources in Michigan. The effect on the total lumber industry of logging railroads would be hard to measure but a glance into the records may give us an indication.

The idea of logging railroads spread at first by one's and two's

<sup>13</sup>Daniel Carey, "Michigan's Foremost Unique Logger," in *Michigan History*, 32: 302 (Lansing, 1948).

<sup>14</sup>*Mississippi Valley Lumberman & Manufacturer*, volume 12, number 5, page 11 (September 9, 1887).

but a report in the *Northwestern Lumberman* reveals that in 1882 thirty-two logging railroads were constructed. Undoubtedly construction was spurred on by the Gerrish success and the continuing warm winters. The total swelled until the year 1885, when statistics reveal forty-nine logging railways with 446.5 miles of track dumping logs into the lakes and streams of Michigan. One can also add an additional figure of 126.7 miles of railroad hauling logs to driving streams and millponds.<sup>15</sup>

Much more track was laid than the figures show because after the timber was cut, the track was quickly removed and used again. Most of the logging railroad operations were highly flexible. In some instances more track was laid in a year than the total length of the rails. A typical logging train hauled ten cars and averaged only 30,000 feet of logs in a trainload. Present-day railroad cars are large by comparison, hauling the equivalent footage in two and one-half cars.

Today as you drive along the roads of Clare County you can still locate portions of the grade on Scott Gerrish's old logging railroad. However, one has to look closely to find one of the old logging grades ribboning itself through stands of aspen, birch, and oak, which were the pineries of years gone-by. Mother Nature and the ravages of time have combined their forces to cover and conceal some of the efforts and accomplishments of an earlier period in our history.

<sup>15</sup>*Northwestern Lumberman*, February 14, 1885.

# The German Language Press in Michigan

## A Survey and Bibliography

Mark O. Kistler

TODAY THE *Detroiter Abendpost* is the sole surviving newspaper in the German language in Michigan. What has been forgotten for the most part, though, is that at one time the German press was the most numerous, and in many respects, the best edited and most influential among all the foreign language organs in the state. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when German newspapers enjoyed their greatest prosperity, forty newspapers were founded, and in all the German press in Michigan had sixty-eight different titles to its credit. Since journalism in the German language did occupy such a prominent position in the Michigan cultural heritage, it would be well to examine the nature and scope of this type of publication.

Journalism in the German language had its inception in this country on May 6, 1732, when the first issue of the *Philadelphische Zeitung* appeared. During the eighteenth century German newspapers mushroomed, especially in the Pennsylvania-German country, but it was not until 1807 that a newspaper appeared west of the Alleghenies. In that year *Der westliche Adler* of Lancaster, Ohio, was first issued. Rapidly more German journals were founded in Ohio, and as the tide of emigration moved westward, the German journalists kept pace. There are conflicting claims, but sometime in the early 1840's German newspapers were established in Indiana and Missouri; and during the course of one year, 1844, the German press began publishing in four different states: Kentucky, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan.<sup>1</sup>

Before we turn our attention to the first newspaper in Michigan, it will be interesting to inquire into the early history of the German population, the potential readers of German newspapers. Michigan made strong overtures to the German immigrant during its early days of statehood. It was Edward Hughes Thompson of Flint,

<sup>1</sup>Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, 48-56 (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957).

state commissioner of immigration, who was most instrumental in luring Germans to the state. He traveled to Stuttgart to invite emigrants personally to come to the pioneer country he represented, and in 1849 he published at state expense *Auswanderer Wegweiser nach dem Staate Michigan*.<sup>2</sup> Thompson's efforts bore fruit and by 1850, 10,070 natives from Germany were living in Michigan.<sup>3</sup> Evidence indicates that there was a sufficient number of Germans in the state to support a newspaper, when the *Allgemeine Zeitung von Michigan* began publishing in Detroit in the fall of 1844.

This publication was a modest four-page weekly. Its print was poor, the format left much to be desired, and the news coverage was fragmentary on the local level, as well as on the national and the international levels. The editor, Dr. Anton Kaminsky, seems to have devoted most of his efforts to the editorial page, where he campaigned vigorously for the Democratic candidate James K. Polk and against the Whig presidential hopeful, Henry Clay. To Kaminsky the issues centered about nativism. According to him, Polk would let the Germans prosper, while the nativist, Clay, would hamper Germans in realizing their aspirations. Dr. Kaminsky reorganized in 1845, and published thereafter under the title of *Staats Zeitung von Michigan*. This newspaper continued to be Democratic in its politics. In fact, this publication maintained its same political affiliations as it underwent several mergers and reorganizations. It finally merged in 1863 with the *Michigan Volksblatt*, which remained the leading Democratic organ in the German language until 1911. The first paper to be published after the *Staats Zeitung* was the *Michigan Volksfreund*, but it was short-lived (1848-1852). Another publication, *Der Republikaner*, lasted only from July to December, 1852.

It was not until August Marxhausen arrived in Detroit in 1853 that the German press came of age. Marxhausen was born on April 2, 1833, in Kassel, and on his father's death, when he was only twelve, he began working in a printing shop. He continued in this vocation until he was eighteen, when he and his brother,

<sup>2</sup>John A. Russell, *The Germanic Influence in The Making of Michigan*, 57 (Detroit, 1927). F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries*, 262 (New York, 1954).

<sup>3</sup>Andrew D. Perejda, "Sources and Dispersal of Michigan's Population," in *Michigan History*, 32:364 (December, 1948).

Conrad, emigrated to America and began working for the *New Yorker Handelszeitung*. After a year the brothers left to manage the *Michigan Volksblatt*. Since they disagreed with the newspaper's policy, they established their own newspaper, the *Michigan Journal*, in 1855. Of the two brothers, it was always August who charted the course. A man of restless energy, high intelligence, vision, and good business acumen, August Marxhausen was to remain the leading figure in the German press in Michigan until his death in 1910. Marxhausen's *Michigan Journal* was a daily, the first of its kind in the state. It was a superior newspaper with good local, national, and international coverage.

Lest we give undue importance to one individual for improving the quality of the press, we must remember that it was precisely at this time—the early 1850's—that the first refugees of the Revolution of 1848 came to Detroit and other midwestern cities. Their influence on journalism was profound. Included among the Forty-eighters were many university-trained young men, individuals who came to this country because the political, social, and economic reforms they strove for in Germany had been denied them. It is quite understandable that the field of journalism appealed to so many of these crusading spirits. In a recent tabulation of the activities of some three hundred well-known Forty-eighters, it was discovered that more went into journalism than any other occupation or profession.<sup>4</sup> Their contribution to the development of the German language press represented but one segment of their total cultural impact upon the United States, but without question it was one of the most significant. Because of them, German-American journalism took on new life and attained standards higher than at any other time in its history.<sup>5</sup>

The German press in Detroit shared in the cultural renaissance instituted by the Forty-eighters. Although August Marxhausen was too young to take part in the revolution, he accepted the convictions of those who participated. He hired some of them as editorial assistants, among whom were Wilhelm Vette, a former student in Leipzig; and Emil Anneke, a lawyer from Dortmund. Ere long the editorial pages of the *Michigan Journal* advocated a

<sup>4</sup>Adolf E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 270 (New York, 1950).

<sup>5</sup>Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, 74.

more socialistic type of democracy in which the working classes received greater consideration. In religion, the *Journal* strove for complete freedom of thought and for release from superstitions and stupid conventions. Wilhelm Vette soon left the *Journal* and became editor of the *Michigan Volksblatt*, a newspaper which also experienced a rebirth at this time and became a daily in 1860. Christian Esselen, another Forty-eighter, had been editor of the *Volksblatt* for a short time, but he was forced to resign because of his extremely radical economic and political views. Esselen then founded a radical magazine, *Atlantis*, in Detroit, but soon moved.

In politics the Forty-eighters were inconsistent. From its early beginnings the bulk of the German language press in the United States had remained faithful in its allegiance to the Democratic party. Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson were symbols of that free America which attracted emigrants to this country, and the very name of their party appealed to men and women who had left Europe to improve their social and economic status in the New World. The Forty-eighters accepted the Democratic tradition in the early years, but in 1856 there was a large shift to the Republican fold. John Charles Fremont, the Republican presidential candidate, had his platform printed in the German language. It championed foreign-born citizens, advocated no temperance legislation, and took a firm stand against slavery. As a consequence of these campaign promises, the *Michigan Journal* and even the *Michigan Volksblatt* supported Fremont. After this election, though, the *Volksblatt* returned to its Democratic leanings and the *Journal* retained its Republican affiliations. The latter newspaper was a staunch supporter of Lincoln.

Detroit's two daily newspapers in the German language were prospering in the wake of heavy German immigration to the city and to the state. According to the 1860 census there were 38,787 Germans by birth in Michigan, and in a letter to Theodore Petrasch dated April 23, 1866, Carl Schurz estimated that there were 20,000 Germans in Detroit out of a total of 70,000, and 200,000 Germans in Michigan out of a total of 1,000,000 inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> These latter figures may be a trifle high, but it must be remembered

<sup>6</sup>*Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869*, translated and edited by Joseph Schafer, 361-62 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1928).

they included everybody of German lineage. For the most part the immigrants of this period came from the educated middle class. They not only read the German newspapers avidly, but created a cultural atmosphere in which journalism could flourish. August Marxhausen sensed that the time was ripe for a more literary and cultural type of publication, and in 1866 he embarked on a new venture by selling the *Journal* and founding a weekly, *Familienblätter*. This newspaper carried contemporary German novels and short stories in serial form, interpreted current national and international events, and featured news of a cultural nature from Germany. The new publication met the highest journalistic standards, but its publisher soon realized that he needed a daily to compete with the two other city newspapers. Therefore he founded the *Detroiter Abendpost*, a daily, on September 5, 1868, and continued publishing the *Familienblätter* as a literary weekly.

The name of August Marxhausen is usually identified with the *Detroiter Abendpost*, for under his guidance of over a forty-two year span this newspaper became one of the leading German publications in the country. In the first issue of September 5, Marxhausen charted his course: He would print the news truthfully and fearlessly, and as a loyal American citizen help to acquaint German immigrants with the customs of their new country. At the same time, he would seek to keep his readers aware of their German cultural heritage. Marxhausen thought of his newspaper as being independent in politics. In 1868, however, he felt the Republicans showed the most promise of being able to consolidate the Union, so he supported their cause. In later years, when he became disillusioned with the administration of Ulysses S. Grant, he shifted his loyalty to the liberal Republicans and supported Horace Greeley for the presidency in 1872. Marxhausen's lifelong friendship with Carl Schurz furnishes the key to the *Abendpost's* political views. At all times the political opinions of Schurz coincide with those of the editorial page of the *Abendpost*. Marxhausen was fortunate in being able to hire Heinrich Binder as editor in 1870. A respected journalist, Binder was a refugee of the revolution and had worked on the staffs of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* in Chicago and the *Weltliche Post* in St. Louis before coming to Detroit. He loved controversy and in 1874, when one of his asso-

ciate editors, Wilhelm Pieper, left his newspaper to work for the *Michigan Journal*, a bitter feud developed between the two publications. They waged their war on the front pages. The *Michigan Volksblatt* also was drawn into the conflict on occasions. Often the initial cause of the disagreements was purely personal, and the accusations and counter-accusations, if nothing else, served to show that Detroit had three flourishing newspapers which were involved in furious competition.

In this era, roughly between 1860 and 1880, journalism in Detroit attained its highest standards. It might be rewarding to examine closely copies of the several newspapers during this period and determine what a typical daily edition was like. All three newspapers were four pages in length. The first page carried news of international, national, and local events. Here items of political, economic, and cultural interest were featured in that order. Most of the second or third page was devoted to a novel or short story in serial form. A German language newspaper without its "Feuilleton" was inconceivable, although it must be admitted that most of the stories were trivial, sentimental romances. Only on occasions did literary works of the highest order appear. The *Abendpost* ran Franz Grillparzer's *Der arme Spielmann* and Theodor Storm's *Aquis Submersus* in serial form in the 1870's. The inside pages also included local news of all types. Detroit's German element had its own theater and concert hall in the latter nineteenth century and the performances of each were well advertised and reviewed in each of the daily newspapers. Likewise, the numerous clubs, fraternal groups, and singing societies received ample coverage in the newspaper columns. Finally, there was always a personal column of particular interest to the German element of the city.

Most of the fourth page was filled with advertising. Oddly enough, this section proves quite interesting to a modern reader because it affords an insight into the customs and habits of the nineteenth century German-American. Newspapers published regularly the sailings of steamship companies and the rates and schedules of the railroads, attesting to the fact that Germans liked to travel, often returning to Germany for short visits. German bankers and brokerage houses advertised their services in transferring funds between the United States and Germany. As long as land was

available in the United States, land companies advertised attractive opportunities in good farming country. Advertisements for patent medicines were common. It is impossible to find a German newspaper of this period which does not extol the virtues of Dr. Miles' Anti-Pain Pills, Paine's Celery Compound, or some similar cure-all. Finally, liquor advertisements were extremely numerous. Indeed, the German newspapers provided a veritable classified directory of the saloons and hotels in Detroit.

A study of a typical newspaper around 1870 would not be complete if one did not pay especial attention to the editorial page, for here the aspirations and principles of the editors are best revealed. The political affiliations of Detroit's newspapers have been alluded to previously. Suffice it to say that the editors supported their particular party or candidate with great fervor. The *Volksblatt* always backed the Democratic party and the *Abendpost* the Republican. The *Journal* leaned to the Democrats. All three newspapers, however, were anti-Grant toward the end of the administration of the soldier-president. In local and state elections, the man who looked most kindly on German-Americans was favored, and a nativist was always regarded as an enemy. The German press showed itself to be remarkably homogenous with respect to its editorial themes, for it had a select set of topics which it treated repeatedly. A favorite editorial admonished its readers to preserve their cultural heritage. Aside from the customs, mores, and social institutions, it was above all the German language which the editor hoped would be transmitted from one generation to another. In this respect, the newspapers were consciously looking after their own interests, for it was a necessary prerequisite that their readers know German. Another subject given high priority on the editorial pages was temperance, or better, antitemperance. German-Americans never lost their taste for beer, and their opposition to temperance legislation ignored all party and class lines. The attitude of the German press on this issue, whether in local, state, or national campaigns, never changed. Closely related to editorials on temperance were those on Sunday blue laws. Sunday in America was depicted as "a day of gloom," when one could only sigh for Monday to bring relief from the horrors of the Puritan Sabbath. Accordingly, the German newspapers continually sought to defeat legislation

which would curtail activities on Sunday. In 1869, the *Detroiter Abendpost* was considerably perturbed when new municipal laws enforced the closing of all theaters and concert halls on Sundays.

In the post Civil War period, proposed woman suffrage likewise became an object of concern on the editorial pages. The German press was solidly opposed to equal rights for women and felt that such privileges would in time cause a disastrous deterioration of all female virtues. In addition, it was argued that the German hausfrau had no desire to leave her home and her children to enter the arena of party politics. In this editorial crusade the German-American newspapers were unsuccessful in molding public opinion, but in another campaign where they agitated for the reform and organization of labor they helped to inaugurate a new era for the working classes. Conrad Marxhausen, brother of August, was an important figure in the early labor movement in Detroit.

As has been demonstrated, most editorials had domestic issues as their theme. However, after 1871, the German empire received an increasing share of attention. The disillusioned Forty-eighters gradually began to look with pride on their homeland. It had emerged victorious in the Franco-Prussian war and was gaining steadily in power and prestige under Bismarck. It must be emphasized once more that editorials, whether treating a national or international subject, did not merely reflect the views of a particular editor or newspaper, but those of a broad segment of the German-American press. Editors were in close association with one another and exchanged newspapers and even editorials. It was common to see an editorial in the *Detroiter Abendpost* which was credited to a recent edition of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, or the *New Yorker Handelszeitung*. As German newspapers were founded in upstate Michigan towns, this fraternal spirit among journalists persisted.

The *Saginaw Zeitung*, which began publishing in 1868, had the distinction of being the first German newspaper to be printed outside of Detroit. Its editor was Constantin Beierle, a friend of August Marxhausen. In 1872, Karl Rienhardt established the *Grand Rapids Pionier*. It suspended publication within the same year, but was followed by the *Michigan Staats Zeitung*, which survived for over a decade. These pioneer newspapers in Saginaw and Grand Rapids

were the forerunners of an upstate German press which attained its peak of influence during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Between 1875 and 1900, forty newspapers were founded in fifteen separate German communities. This twenty-five year span represented the flowering period of the German press in Michigan. The tenth census of 1880 lists 89,085 immigrants from German-speaking countries; by 1890 this number had increased to 139,648; and it reached an all-time high in 1900, when 145,292 Michigan residents claimed a German-speaking country as their place of birth. There has always been a close correlation between immigration statistics and foreign language newspapers, because such newspapers appeal primarily to the foreign-born. The first generation American has already yielded to the forces of Americanization and reads the English language newspapers.

In attempting an evaluation of the German press in the state, it will be well to begin with the publications in Saginaw. Saginaw newspapers not only pioneered, but always remained leaders in their field. The Saginaw area had the greatest concentration of German immigrants in upstate Michigan, and thus was in an excellent position to support its newspapers. Indeed, Saginaw is the only city outside of Detroit which published two or more newspapers simultaneously for a period of ten years or more. The *Saginaw Zeitung*, merging later with the *Saginaw Post Zeitung*, published continuously until 1918, and a rival newspaper, the *Saginaw Journal*, was in existence from 1901 until 1925. Both of these publications, as well as all upstate German language newspapers, were weeklies.

The *Saginaw Zeitung* was eight pages in length and followed the same general pattern of news coverage as did its predecessors in Detroit, with two notable exceptions: editorials were limited in size and occasionally omitted altogether; and four pages of the newspaper were "boiler plate." Boiler plate was a common term in the field of journalism in nineteenth century America. It referred to filler for the inside pages of newspapers, especially weeklies, and was supplied by firms in the larger cities. A news company in Chicago and another in Philadelphia supplied the German weeklies. News of general interest from Germany formed over half of this reading material, and the balance had the flavor of

a contemporary American almanac. Readers did not seem to object too strenuously to such stereotyped news, and every German weekly relied heavily on boiler plate to fill its pages. If the boiler plate served as ballast, it was the local news coverage which gave the *Saginaw Zeitung* its peculiar character and boosted its circulation. Residents of Frankenmuth, Bay City, and the numerous small villages around Saginaw could find regularly a column devoted to news items of their respective community.

Just as the Saginaw area was the most important German settlement in eastern Michigan, Grand Rapids became the leading German community in the western part of the state. Its two early German publications have already been mentioned. However, both were short-lived, and the German press in Grand Rapids is usually identified with the *Germania*, a well edited newspaper which was published from 1882 to 1916. It tried zealously to remain neutral in politics and its pages have a conservative, and nonpolemical tone. Parenthetically, the general observation can be made that none of the publications beyond Detroit exhibited the crusading zeal of the metropolitan press. A typical edition of the *Germania* featured national news on page one; then followed four pages of boiler plate with its potpourri of news items and information; a sixth page featured local news, fraternal affairs, and an editorial; a seventh contained a short story or novel in serial form; and the last page gave a composite of Michigan news. Editorials, as those in Detroit newspapers, treated subjects like the German cultural heritage, temperance legislation, woman suffrage, blue laws, and prosperous, imperial Germany. Occasionally, a civic-minded editorial of purely local interest appeared. The *Germania* set a precedent by establishing in 1887 the first Sunday paper outside of Detroit. Closely following the pattern of Marxhausen's *Familienblätter*, it too had an extensive "Feuilleton" section.

Along with Saginaw and Grand Rapids, another city that had a decidedly Germanic tone was Ann Arbor. It is represented in the German press by three newspapers: the *Washtenaw Journal*, *Der Deutsche Hausfreund*, and the *Washtenaw Post*. The first of these suspended publication in 1890, and the second in 1903; but the *Washtenaw Post* was printed in German until 1918, at which time it became an English language journal. The *Washtenaw Post* must

be classified with the better German newspapers in the state. The *Michigan Volksfreund* (1876-1926) of Jackson, likewise had a long and distinguished history under its able editor and publisher, Rudolph Worch.

Manistee's *Michigan Volkszeitung* also deserves to be singled out for it was the most successful German newspaper in a small town. Serving the German immigrants, who were lured to the Manistee area by the booming logging industry late in the nineteenth century, the *Michigan Volkszeitung* published from 1890 until 1918. Its owner-editor, August Greve, wisely limited his paper in size to four pages, but at that he was able to follow the general pattern of the German-American press, and supply his readers with the important international, national, and state news, along with the serial novel and local items of interest. In connection with the local coverage, it must be emphasized that every German language paper reported in detail the many social, fraternal, and musical activities of its particular German community, for the survival of the German press depended upon the extent to which German-Americans retained their interest in the social and cultural life of their people.

Although the newspapers mentioned enjoyed a good measure of success, there were a great many of the ephemeral variety. They often ceased publication before the local citizenry realized that they existed. In this category we may cite the *Adrian Anzeiger* (1875-76); the *Adrian Reformatory* (1875-76); the *Lake Superior Pionier* (1891-95) of Marquette; and the *Michigan Deutsche Zeitung* (1893-99) of Port Huron. It was relatively easy to start a foreign language paper, for little capital was required, and the publisher could always count on a certain number of readers among the first generation of immigrants. It was far more difficult to keep a foreign language paper alive, for its fortunes were directly affected by the ebb and flow of the immigrant tide. As the German immigration to Michigan began to wane, the newspapers reflected this trend. By 1900, ten upstate German newspapers had suspended publication, and by 1910 this number had increased by five. After 1912 only six independent weekly newspapers continued to publish outside of the Detroit area.

Detroit's three daily newspapers were well established and were relatively unaffected by the vicissitudes of immigration. However,

a multitude of rather specialized newspapers, which were founded in Detroit in the latter years of the nineteenth century, struggled for survival from the start. Although none of their files has been preserved, we know of eleven newspapers in the German language which were founded between 1889 and 1900. None of these newspapers were published for more than seven years and most lasted less than three.

In a survey of journalistic publications of Detroit, two weekly newspapers must be mentioned which fit into no particular category. In fact, they are important because of their unique nature. They are *Der arme Teufel* (1884-1902) and *Die Stimme der Wahrheit* (1875-1918). The former was one of the most radical and revolutionary papers ever published in America. Its editor, Robert Reitzel, was a wayward genius who hated the conventions of society and advocated complete freedom of the individual. In *Der arme Teufel*, he wrote in favor of free love, glorified the state of inebriation and intoxication, and cast scorn on the Catholic church in particular and religion in general. Reitzel advocated socialism and always sympathized with labor. Because of his hatred of all forms of government he was often accused of being an anarchist. Always polemical, he loved to heap abuse on the German dailies in Detroit for catering to the bourgeois tastes. That a newspaper of such a radical nature could maintain a circulation necessary for existence is understandable only when we realize that it had certain qualities which commanded universal respect. Its columns were written in a graceful, almost literary style; they reveal an editor who was not only articulate, but most erudite as well. Controversial as Reitzel's essays were, they nevertheless were thought-provoking and helped to raise the intellectual level of the German element in Detroit. Robert Reitzel died in 1898, when he was only forty-nine—a victim of his Bohemian existence. His long time friend and disciple, Martin Drescher, succeeded him as editor, but he was not equal to the task, and the newspaper suspended publication in 1902.

*Die Stimme der Wahrheit* was in many ways the exact counterpart of *Der arme Teufel*—in fact, the two newspapers occasionally engaged in bitter feuds in their columns. Founded in 1875 by Engelbert Andries, the *Stimme der Wahrheit* was avowedly a journalistic publication of the Roman Catholic church. However, under the

direction of Andries and the editor, John Baptist Müller, the newspaper was never narrowly dogmatic and reported the news in a sagacious and objective manner.<sup>7</sup> Its articles on literature and philosophy were of the highest merit. *Die Stimme der Wahrheit* maintained publication for forty-three consecutive years, and represented one of the few German-American newspapers which survived the early twentieth century, the crucial period for the German press. It will be of interest to examine newspapers which continued to flourish to see how they adjusted to the modern period.

In content and format, Detroit's German dailies, the *Abendpost*, *Volksblatt*, and *Journal und Herold* became more American. They reported the activities of Congress, the state legislature, and the city council; covered public meetings, lectures, concerts, banquets, and social events; carried news about fires, accidents, and crimes; printed significant items about labor and finance; paid considerable attention to foreign news, especially from Germany; and began to carry a column on sports and another on advice to the lovelorn. The only distinctive feature of the German press, compared to typical American dailies, continued to be the serial story and the section devoted to belles-lettres. Editorials still expressed strong views on woman suffrage and prohibition; and argued for the preservation of the German language, German cultural life, and the German press. But the aim of the German newspapers was to build circulation in order to attract advertising and to keep their papers solvent.<sup>8</sup>

Accurate circulation figures for German-American newspapers are hard to obtain. At this time newspapers were not required by law to file sworn statements of their ownership and circulation. Consequently, reports about circulation often represent wishful thinking and are inaccurate and frequently deliberately misleading. One can refer to Ayer's newspaper directory for 1900 and note that the *Abendpost* is credited with 7,860 subscribers, the *Volksblatt* with 5,179, and the *Saginaw Post Zeitung* with 4,200. But how authentic these figures are, is hard to say. The important fact is that every publisher knew there were less potential readers with each ensuing year. The decreasing number of German immigrants and the forces of Americanization had taken their toll. But the worst

<sup>7</sup>Russell, *The Germanic Influence in The Making of Michigan*, 298.

<sup>8</sup>Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, 217.

was yet to come. An event took place in the spring of 1917, which had a devastating and catastrophic effect on the German language press: it was America's entry into World War I.

As has been noted previously, German newspapers in this country began to take increasing pride in the achievements of imperial Germany. News relating to the Fatherland always occupied an important place in the German-American press. When tension between Germany and the western allies, especially England, began to mount, the German newspapers in Michigan, as well as in other states, tried to explain Germany's viewpoint on thorny international problems. It gradually became the contention of the *Detroiter Abendpost*, the *Detroiter Herold*, and the upstate German newspapers that America was becoming the victim of English propaganda.

When war broke out in 1914, the German American press viewed the conflict primarily as a struggle between German and English imperialistic ambitions. The *Abendpost*, the Manistee *Volkszeitung*, and the Saginaw *Post Zeitung* announced the outbreak of hostilities with restraint and with considerable apprehension. However, the *Germania* of Grand Rapids proved to be an exception in this respect. It envisioned the war as a German crusade and its editorial page on August 12, 1914, bore the slogan, "Deutschland, Deutschland, über Alles." These words were replaced in a subsequent issue by "Hurrah, Germania, Du stolzes, schönes Weib!" Lest such actions by the German press appear as pure treason, it must be emphasized that the editors never even entertained the idea that America would be drawn actively into the conflict. A war between the United States and Germany was unthinkable at this time.

As hostilities continued, Michigan's German newspapers hoped for a speedy German victory. They printed the official German war communiques, reported ecstatically German victories, and raised money for victims of war in the Fatherland. They became increasingly bitter at what they called insidious British propaganda appearing in the American newspapers. The editors resented having the Germans called "Barbarians" by the English press. Since the American government and the public showed a growing sentiment for the Allied cause, the German press pursued with renewed vigor its efforts to present the facts as it saw them.

However, the die was cast, and German-Americans soon saw themselves defending not Germany, but their own flesh and blood. By 1915, partially because of the attitude of the German-American press, a hatred toward Germans and all things German had reached a fever pitch in this country. Probably never in the long history of American immigration has a large foreign-born element experienced such difficulties and humiliations as did the German element between 1915 and 1918. Misunderstanding, suspicion, slander, emotional conflict, bewildered readjustment, and tragedy marked the war years, as excited Americans became convinced that everything of German origin somehow must be treasonable. A sudden rage against "Teutonism" and the "Hun" threatened the existence of all German culture: its language, music, literature, press, fraternal groups, and even street and family names of German origin.

Strangely enough, the German-American press was not to be intimidated, and maintained its same editorial policy on affairs of war. America's statesmen were classified into two groups: Anglophiles and true Americans. President Woodrow Wilson and even former president Theodore Roosevelt were bitterly attacked by the German press, and men like Henry Cabot Lodge, Robert M. La Follette, and William E. Borah, were praised for their firm stand on neutrality. Wilson was singled out for criticism by the German editors after he began making unkind references about hyphenated Americans.

Because of the attitude of the German press, and because of the growing animosity toward all things German, newspapers were rapidly losing their advertising. As a consequence, their financial condition deteriorated and they were forced to suspend publication. The *Germania* of Grand Rapids printed its last issue on March 29, 1916. It maintained it still had enough circulation to continue, but that a calamitous drop in advertising had forced it to disband. In this last edition, the *Germania* hoped for the victory of the German army so that peace and the honor of German-Americans would be restored.

The remaining German newspapers of Michigan tightened their purse strings and faced an uncertain future. More and more editorials expressed the hope that a just and lasting peace would

soon be forthcoming. But their sentiments remained with German arms. When the United States declared war on Germany early in April, 1917, the editors of the *Detroiter Abendpost* were heart-sick and lamented that this country had to come to England's rescue. Two months later, on June 8, Manistee's *Michigan Volkszeitung* was still pro-German in its sympathies. It warned its readers that American newspapers were not providing the facts, but were giving a slanted picture of the war.

It was not until German-American youths were drafted that the German press changed its tone appreciably. The Saginaw Post Zeitung of July 12 will serve as a case in point. On that date the newspaper published a "Declaration of Principles," which said in effect that the time for differences of opinion about this war had passed. It is the immediate duty of all Germans to support our nation in this war in every way—loyally, whole-heartedly, and vigorously. Subsequent issues of the Post Zeitung asked its readers to support their country by buying Liberty Bonds. In the summer of 1917, all of Michigan's German newspapers performed similar mental gymnastics and changed their allegiance from the German to the Allied cause. With this new change of policy it appeared that German newspapers had made the necessary adjustment and could continue publishing, albeit under trying circumstances. Anti-German animosity continued unabated in the country, but a core of readers and advertisers remained loyal to their local paper.

On October 6, 1917, however, the German press was dealt a crushing blow from which it was not to recover. Congress enacted on that day a law for the specific control of the foreign language press. It provided that exact translations of all matters relating to the war had to be submitted to the local postmaster until such time as the government was sufficiently convinced of the loyalty of the foreign language paper to issue it a permit exempting it henceforth from this request. From the moment when this legislation took effect, any paper which wanted to stay in business had to support the government's war efforts, and had to take special pains not to offend an overzealous censor in any way. The government's request seemed reasonable and German newspapers made every effort to comply. However, the cost of filing translations added materially to the already heavy deficits of the papers, and

many soon were placed in financial jeopardy.

During the course of the ensuing year, 1918, veteran newspapers began to fall by the wayside. In Detroit, the *Herold*, and *Stimme der Wahrheit* disbanded, and they were joined upstate by Saginaw's *Post Zeitung*, Manistee's *Michigan Volkszeitung*, and Ann Arbor's *Washtenaw Post*. The last-mentioned journal reorganized and published henceforth in the English language, but under the same name. The final issue of the *Volkszeitung* of Manistee, on June 4, 1918, is especially interesting, since the editor, August Greve, listed his personal reasons for suspending publication. Greve conceded that the primary factor was financial; but he also confided that he had received threatening letters, that vicious anti-German feeling had shattered his nerves, and that he had finally lost heart in his work.

By 1919, except for a few strictly religious publications, only three German newspapers survived. They were the *Michigan Volksfreund* of Jackson, the *Saginaw Journal*, and the *Detroiter Abendpost*. The number of newspapers and their circulation had been declining steadily for some years because of falling immigration and the normal process of Americanization, but it was the war and the hysterical reaction to all things German which precipitated a unique crisis in the history of Michigan's German press.

German newspapers never again regained their vitality. The three surviving publications greeted the armistice with a sigh of relief and with hopes for a brighter future, and they welcomed Wilson's Fourteen Points. But in postwar editions less and less space was devoted to political issues, particularly in the weeklies of Jackson and Saginaw. Both of these last mentioned newspapers concentrated on chronicling the social activities of the local German community. Their days were numbered, though, and a gradual decrease in circulation gave them no alternative but to suspend. The *Saginaw Journal* stopped publishing in 1925, and the *Jackson Volksfreund* in 1926. It is at this time—the mid-twenties—that the German language press in Michigan ceased to exist as a cohesive entity. The *Detroiter Abendpost*, which continued to publish, must henceforth be regarded from a broader, national viewpoint. It joins the handful of German newspapers which are still in existence in America at the present.

In this brief survey of the German press, an attempt has been made to trace its history and to outline its salient features. In summary, the foreign language newspaper performed a vital function in the settling of this state, for it helped to initiate the immigrant into his new environment and represented a stabilizing force in the critical years of transition from an Old World culture to the customs of a strange new land.

This bibliography<sup>9</sup>, listed alphabetically by cities, is intended to be as complete and accurate as possible. If files are available, notes are appended giving the pertinent data.

#### ADRIAN

*Anzeiger* (1875-76).  
*Reformator* (1875-76).

#### ANN ARBOR

*Washtenaw Journal* (1887-90). Weekly. Democratic.  
*Der deutsche Hausfreund* (1888-1903). Weekly. Independent.<sup>10</sup>  
*Washtenaw Post* (1878-1918). Weekly. Independent.<sup>11</sup>

#### BAY CITY

*Michigan Freie Presse* (1878-1912). Weekly. Independent.  
*Michigan Kinderfreund* (1917-31). Bimonthly. Religious.

#### BATTLE CREEK

*Christlicher Hausfreund* (1879-1907). Weekly. Seventh Day Adventist.  
*Stimme der Wahrheit* (1883-84). Monthly. Religious.  
*Herold der Wahrheit* (1889-94). Semimonthly. Religious.

#### CHELSEA

*Evangelisches Kirchenblatt* (1893-1917). Monthly. Religious.  
Published after 1897 at Ann Arbor.

<sup>9</sup>The material for this list was gathered from "Die deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten," in *Der deutsche Pionier*, 8:289-320 (Cincinnati, 1876); N. W. Ayer and Sons, annual *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia, 1880-1930); G. P. Rowell, annual *American Newspaper Directory* (New York, 1869-1908); bi-annual *Michigan Manual* (Lansing, 1867-1925); and the various pertinent county histories.

<sup>10</sup>December 4, 1890-December 15, 1892, in University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.

<sup>11</sup>October 23, December 4, 1890, 1891 broken series, 1892 broken series, in University of Michigan Library.

## DETROIT

*Die allgemeine Zeitung* (1844-45). Weekly. Democratic.<sup>12</sup>

*Michigan Volksfreund* (1848-52). Weekly.<sup>13</sup>

*Der Republikaner* (July-December, 1852). Weekly.

*Michigan Staats Zeitung* (1845-50; 1859-63). Weekly. Democratic.<sup>14</sup> Sold to *Volksblatt* in 1863.

*Der radicale Demokrat* (July-October, 1864). Presidential campaign paper.

*Michigan Tribune* (1850-54).

*Michigan Demokrat* (1854-57). Weekly. Sold to *Volksblatt* in 1857.

*Michigan Volksblatt* (1853-1911). Twice weekly (1853-1911).<sup>15</sup> Daily (1860-1911). Democratic. Sold to *Abendpost* in 1911.

*Michigan Journal* (1855-76). Daily.<sup>16</sup> Absorbed by *Journal und Herold*.

*Michigan Journal und Herold* (1876-89). Weekly.<sup>17</sup> Absorbed by *Herold*.

*Detroit Herold* (1890-1918). Weekly.<sup>18</sup>

*Michigan Volkszeitung* (1876-84). Weekly.<sup>19</sup>

*Detroiter Abendpost* (1868—). Daily. Independent Republican. Triweekly since 1945.<sup>20</sup>

*Familienblätter* (1866-1938).<sup>21</sup> Sunday paper of *Abendpost*.

*Der arme Teufel* (1884-1902). Weekly. Radical.<sup>22</sup>

*Stimme der Wahrheit* (1875-1918). Weekly. Catholic.

*Arbeiterzeitung* (1889-91). Daily. Labor.

*Der Kicker* (1897-98). Weekly.

*Kinderpost* (1889-96). Weekly.

<sup>12</sup>October 5, 1844 and May 3, 1845, in the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. (Hereafter cited as Burton.)

<sup>13</sup>November 20, 1852, Burton.

<sup>14</sup>October 30, 1847, Burton.

<sup>15</sup>1864 broken, 1867 broken, 1869 broken; 1870-74 daily; 1876-1911 daily; 1894-1910 semiweekly, Burton.

<sup>16</sup>1864, 1866, 1874, 1876, all in broken series, Burton.

<sup>17</sup>September 20, 1881, Burton.

<sup>18</sup>April 15, 1898-May, 1918, State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>19</sup>January 29, 1882, Burton.

<sup>20</sup>1868-1909, 1912-19, 1921—, University of Michigan Library; 1916, 1918, 1923, 1928, 1930, Burton.

<sup>21</sup>1931-34, University of Michigan Library.

<sup>22</sup>1885-1900, Burton.

**DETROIT (Continued)**

*Der Bundesbote* (1911-20). Monthly. Fraternal.  
*Familienkreise* (1895-1900). Weekly.  
*Tageblatt* (1891). Daily.  
*Volkszeitung* (1891). Weekly. Nationalistic.  
*Lehrerpost* (1891-98). Monthly. Teachers publication.  
*Jugendpost* (1891). Weekly. Juvenile.  
*Fortschritt der Zeit* (1891). Semimonthly. Literary.  
*Acker und Garten* (1891-94). Semimonthly. Agricultural.  
*Menschenfreund* (1891-93). Semimonthly. Religious.  
*Evangelisches Waisenblatt* (1907-21). Monthly. Religious.  
*Vergissmeinnicht* (1911-18). Monthly. Religious.  
*Lutherfreund* (1919-20). Religious.  
*Evangelisches Kirchenblatt* (1921-22). Monthly. Religious.  
*Diakonissen Freund* (1921-22). Monthly. Religious.

**GRAND RAPIDS**

*Der Pionier* (1872—ten months). Weekly.  
*Michigan Staatszeitung* (1874-86). Weekly.  
*Die Post* (1892-95). Weekly.  
*Germania* (1882-1916). Weekly.<sup>23</sup>  
*Sonntagsbote* (1887-1916). Sunday edition of *Germania*.<sup>24</sup>

**JACKSON**

*Michigan Volksfreund* (1876-1926). Weekly. Democratic.

**LANSING**

*Michigan Staats Zeitung* (1887-1905). Weekly. Independent.  
*Lansing Staats Zeitung* (1909-11). Weekly. Independent.<sup>25</sup>

**MANISTEE**

*Michigan Volkszeitung* (1890-1918). Weekly. Democratic.<sup>26</sup>

**MARQUETTE**

*Der Wanderer Am Lake Superior* (1884-86?). Weekly.  
*Der Hausfreund* (ca. 1886). Sunday edition of *Der Wanderer*.  
*Lake Superior Pionier* (1891-95). Weekly. Independent.

<sup>23</sup>1882-1916, Grand Rapids Public Library.

<sup>24</sup>1898-1916, Grand Rapids Public Library.

<sup>25</sup>August 5-October 7, 1910; November 25-December 30, 1910, Michigan State Library, Lansing.

<sup>26</sup>1892-1918, Miss Anna M. Greve, 276 First Avenue, Manistee.

**MENOMINEE**

*Pionier und Volksfreund* (1890-1907). Weekly. Independent.

**PORT HURON**

*Herold* (1885-1901). Weekly. Democratic.

*Michigan Deutsche Zeitung* (1893-99). Weekly. Independent.

**SAGINAW**

*Saginaw Zeitung* (1868-97). Weekly.<sup>27</sup> Absorbed by *Post Zeitung*.

*Saginaw Post Zeitung* (1887-1918). Weekly. Independent.<sup>28</sup>

*Daheim* (1898-1918). Sunday edition of *Post Zeitung*.

*Journal* (1901-25). Weekly.<sup>29</sup>

*Der Lutherfreund* (1895-1921). Monthly. Religious.

*Synodal Freund* (1895-1903). Monthly. Religious.

*Meine Freunde* (1901-3). Monthly. Religious.

*Michigan Kinderfreund* (1913-21). Semimonthly. Religious.

**STRUGIS**

*Zeitung* (1878-88). Weekly. Independent.

<sup>27</sup>March 16-April 6, 1876, Burton.

<sup>28</sup>1887-1917, Saginaw Public Library.

<sup>29</sup>1917-25, University of Illinois Library, Urbana.

If readers know of any extant issues of German language newspapers which are not listed in the bibliography above, or have copies of such issues, the author would be pleased to know of their existence. The author would also be pleased to know of any other German language papers published in Michigan which are not included in this article. Replies should be directed to the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing.

## Charles Edward Stuart of Kalamazoo

*Anne McCain*

CHARLES E. STUART FIRST ENTERED CONGRESS in 1847. In the following years, as a Representative and a Senator, he was to participate in debates and legislation which, seen in retrospect, were the beginnings of the struggle that within a few years was to divide the nation politically, physically, and spiritually.

Stuart, a resident of Kalamazoo for over fifty years, was one of the community's leading figures. Active in local and state affairs from 1835, when he came to the city, he was to attain national recognition through his Congressional career and his participation in national conventions of the Democratic party.

In a day of great speakers, he was among the greatest; his abilities as an orator earned him praise as the "Cicero of the West." He was an able lawyer and widely known.

Though devoted to his party and a staunch supporter of its leader of that period, Stephen A. Douglas, his first concern was for the Union. Being a man of great personal integrity, he sometimes worked independently of and even against his party in his attempts to secure legislation which he felt was necessary for the good of the country.

Charles Edward Stuart was born November 25, 1810, in Canaan Corners, Columbia County, New York.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Dr. Charles and Catherine Parsons Stuart. After the War of 1812 the family moved to Waterloo in Seneca County, New York, where Dr. Stuart continued his medical practice and farming. Here young Charles attended district school. This was his only formal education.

At nineteen he started to study law in the office of Birdsall and Clark at Waterloo. Three years later, in 1832, he was admitted to the bar of Seneca County and commenced practice.<sup>2</sup>

In the spring of 1835, he came to Detroit. Having no special

<sup>1</sup>Anson DePerry Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:292 (Lansing, 1888).

<sup>2</sup>*Compendium of History and Biography of Kalamazoo County*, edited by David Fisher and Frank Little, 208 (Chicago, n.d.).

place of settlement in mind, he went first to Monroe where he was given great inducement to stay. However he continued west through Dundee, Tecumseh, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Jackson, and Marshall. On June 23, he arrived in Kalamazoo, and there he decided to remain. In the fall of the same year he returned to Waterloo, where on November 3 he married Sophia S. Parsons.<sup>3</sup> On their return to Kalamazoo, Mr. and Mrs. Stuart lived in the Kalamazoo House.<sup>4</sup>

Stuart was admitted to the bar of Kalamazoo County on May 18, 1836.<sup>5</sup> He became associated with Epaphroditus Ransom in what was to be an "extensive law practice."<sup>6</sup> Apparently very able, he was soon well known in this county and the surrounding area. The court records of many western Michigan counties bear his name upon many of the important cases during 1836 and the following years.<sup>7</sup> In his early career he traveled throughout western Michigan as part of the "court" of the circuit judge. In those days the shortage of attorneys made it necessary for the judges to take their own bar on circuit.<sup>8</sup>

In a biographical sketch, Edward W. Barber said of Stuart:

He was not what was called a "case lawyer," relying upon decisions printed in the books for authority but upon the fundamental principles of law that are applicable to all time and circumstance.<sup>9</sup>

For twelve years he practiced his profession as a trial lawyer, except for one period when he attended one session of the state legislature.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from his law practice, Stuart was engaged in many activities during the years when he first resided in Kalamazoo. When the

<sup>3</sup>Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:292.

<sup>4</sup>History of Kalamazoo County, compiled by Samuel Durant, 220 (Philadelphia, 1880).

<sup>5</sup>Theron F. Giddings, "List of Members of the Kalamazoo Bar, 1831-1886," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:313.

<sup>6</sup>Durant, *History of Kalamazoo County*, 117.

<sup>7</sup>Hezekiah G. Wells, "Law and the Legal Profession," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:129 (Lansing, 1881).

<sup>8</sup>George W. Lawton, "Historical Sketch of Van Buren County," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 3:629.

<sup>9</sup>Edward W. Barber, "Michigan Men in Congress: The Chosen of the People," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 35:474 (Lansing, 1907).

<sup>10</sup>Henry Bishop, "Memorial Report - Kalamazoo County," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 26:428 (Lansing, 1896).

articles of association of the St. Luke's Parish were signed in May, 1837; Stuart was elected one of the vestrymen.<sup>11</sup> One of his favorite pastimes was fox-hunting.<sup>12</sup> This sport of horse and hound probably led to the organization, in 1837, of the first horsemen's club, known as the Kalamazoo Jockey Club, of which Stuart was permanent chairman.<sup>13</sup> In 1836 the Kalamazoo and Lake Michigan Railroad Company was incorporated by the state legislature. The incorporators, Stuart and four other men, were authorized to construct a railroad "from the mouth of the South Black River in the county of Van Buren to Kalamazoo County." Nothing ever came of the venture, as no one was interested in investing in it.<sup>14</sup> In 1849 he was appointed to the first board of trustees of the Michigan Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, Blind, and Insane.<sup>15</sup> Michigan history apparently interested him, for in the course of his life he belonged to the Kalamazoo County Pioneer Society,<sup>16</sup> the State Pioneer Society,<sup>17</sup> and the Michigan Historical Society.<sup>18</sup>

An eloquent speaker, he was destined to become a public figure in the days when orators and oratory flourished.<sup>19</sup> In the campaign of 1840 he was a prominent orator for the Democratic cause.<sup>20</sup> In the fall of 1841 he was elected a representative to the state legislature.

In 1847 he was elected to represent the second district to Congress.<sup>21</sup> This was a special election, as it was to fill the vacancy caused by the death, on August 5, of Edward Bradley of Marshall,

<sup>11</sup>Durant, *History of Kalamazoo County*, 245.

<sup>12</sup>Kalamazoo County Directory with a History of the County, 1869-1870, compiled by James M. Thomas (Kalamazoo, 1869).

<sup>13</sup>Kalamazoo Biographical File in the Kalamazoo Public Museum.

<sup>14</sup>Durant, *History of Kalamazoo County*, 170.

<sup>15</sup>Kalamazoo Biographical File in the Kalamazoo Public Museum.

<sup>16</sup>Durant, *History of Kalamazoo County*, 139.

<sup>17</sup>"List of Members of the State Pioneer Society," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 1:88 (Lansing, 1877).

<sup>18</sup>J. C. Holmes, "The Michigan State Historical Society," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 12:323 (Lansing, 1888).

<sup>19</sup>Kalamazoo Biographical Scrap Books, Kalamazoo, S-3:353, in the Kalamazoo Public Library.

<sup>20</sup>Byron M. Cutcheon and Henry M. Utley, *Michigan as a Province, Territory, and State*, 3:188 (New York, 1906).

<sup>21</sup>Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:292.

who had not yet qualified for the office. Stuart took his seat on December 6.<sup>22</sup>

A candidate for re-election in 1848, he was defeated by William Sprague, the Whig and Free Soil candidate. In 1850 he was again a candidate for Congress. The *Niles Republican* asked the people to vote for Stuart—"an able champion of democracy, a firm supporter of the Constitution and the Union who will stand boldly forth an advocate for the compromise."<sup>23</sup> The item went on to denounce Joseph R. Williams, the Whig and Free Soil coalition candidate, as an opponent of the compromise bill and as a sectionalist. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* exhorted its readers:

Democrats of Kalamazoo County, every consideration conspires to render the election of Mr. Stuart of the utmost importance. The tremendous agitation which recently convulsed our country, has been calmed to rest. . . . By the combined and almost super-human efforts of the greatest, wisest, and most sagacious statesman of this or any other land, the tumultuous elements that threatened the glorious fabric reared by our revolutionary fathers, were quelled and hushed into quietude. "There let them rest" is the sentiment of every lover of his country, and every well-wisher to the progress of liberty. Whigs, who have heretofore honored the names of your faith, the mighty Clay and majestic Webster, are you prepared to let loose the destroying whirlwind which their almost omnipotent efforts were scarcely adequate to subdue. Reflect and ponder. Will Joseph R. Williams second the efforts of those great chiefs of your faith; or will he unloose the chains of discord and again plunge the country into despair. Friends of Millard Fillmore ask yourselves the question, what are you about to do. Is Mr. Williams the man whose prudence, and sagacity, judging from his present position, you are willing to endorse and whom you are willing to send into the presence of your President as the exponent of your views and wishes? We leave you to ponder this momentous question.<sup>24</sup>

In the after-election issue, the *Kalamazoo Gazette* jubilantly announced that Mr. Stuart had been elected. "But," it added in a more somber tone, "in the other two districts Whig Congressmen were elected. . . . We have no heart to comment on such news."<sup>25</sup> It was

<sup>22</sup>Kalamazoo Biography, Gray File, in the Kalamazoo Public Library.

<sup>23</sup>Floyd Benjamin Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860*, 115 (Lansing, 1918).

<sup>24</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, November 1, 1850.

<sup>25</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, November 8, 1850.

a close race—Stuart held only a slim majority of 372 votes. In Kalamazoo County, Williams defeated him by 294 votes.<sup>26</sup>

Stuart took his seat in the House on March 4, 1851.<sup>27</sup> He was appointed to the committee on territories and the committee on expenditures in the state department.<sup>28</sup> During this, his last term in the House, he championed the bill "granting the state of Michigan the right of way and a donation of public lands for the construction of a ship canal around the falls of St. Mary, in said state." This bill was prepared by Michigan's Senator Alpheus Felch. Stuart introduced the bill into the House December 10, 1851.<sup>29</sup> It was not long in debate. Stuart swiftly quelled all objections to this large grant of 750,000 acres:

It is a great work and one entirely national in character. It steers perfectly clear of all constitutional questions and objections, because the government of the United States owns the ground, and has entire jurisdiction over the whole tract of country through which the canal will pass.<sup>30</sup>

Asked what would happen should the canal cost more than the estimated sum of \$450,000, Stuart replied that in any contingency the land should bring the money necessary to finish the project. He added that in any event the land would not be wasted as whatever was not needed would be turned back to the government. The legislatures and chambers of commerce in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio had sent petitions and memorials to Congress expressing their enthusiasm for the canal. This aided Stuart in his arguments and the bill passed easily, becoming law when President Millard Fillmore signed it August 26, 1852.

To Senator Felch and to Representative Stuart the people of Michigan are forever indebted. This valuable improvement brought wealth to the state in the form of a commerce that grew to be the largest in tonnage of any canal in the world.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Kalamazoo Gazette, November 29, 1850.

<sup>27</sup>Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949, 1879 (Washington, D.C., 1950).

<sup>28</sup>Congressional Globe, 47 (32 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C. 1852).

<sup>29</sup>Congressional Globe, 59 (32 Congress, 1 session).

<sup>30</sup>Congressional Globe, 2348 (32 Congress, 1 session).

<sup>31</sup>Barber, "Michigan Men in Congress: The Chosen of the People," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 35:479.

In 1852 when Senator Felch's term was about to expire, the Kalamazoo *Gazette* spoke hopefully of Stuart succeeding him. It expressed the feeling that it was time that there was a Senator from the west of the state,

expressions in favor of Mr. Stuart have arisen spontaneously through various presses which have spoken. . . . We take great pleasure in following our contemporaries in commending our esteemed fellow citizen to the attention of the legislature.<sup>32</sup>

In party caucus the Democrats of the legislature declared him unanimously nominated. He won in the House, 49-22; and in the Senate, 24-7.<sup>33</sup> He entered the Senate March 4, 1853. He was appointed to the committees on commerce, on public lands, and on patents and the patent office.<sup>34</sup>

Within a year after Stuart took his seat in the Senate, the nation was thrown into turmoil by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This controversial piece of legislation tore open wounds that were to have been forever healed by the Compromise of 1850. In 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, in proposing the creation of a new territory, Nebraska, suggested that the Compromise of 1850 had superseded that of 1820 and said that the new territory should be slave or free as it saw fit. In the course of time, Douglas was forced to make two amendments: two territories were authorized—Kansas and Nebraska; and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise had to be specifically stated rather than merely assumed.<sup>35</sup>

This second amendment was a stumbling-block for Stuart. On this point he yielded to his party colleagues reluctantly.<sup>36</sup> He said that he could not agree that the Missouri Compromise was superseded by the Compromise of 1850.<sup>37</sup> Neither could he vote for the repeal of the compromise if the old French slave laws of the Louisiana Territory could be revived.<sup>38</sup>

A proviso was then introduced by Senator George E. Badger of

<sup>32</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, December 31, 1852.

<sup>33</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, January 14, 1853.

<sup>34</sup>Congressional *Globe*, 27 (33 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1854).

<sup>35</sup>John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union*, 525 (Cambridge, Mass., 1952).

<sup>36</sup>Kalamazoo Biographical Scrap Books, S-3:353.

<sup>37</sup>Congressional *Globe*, appendix:296 (33 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1854).

<sup>38</sup>Congressional *Globe*, appendix:289 (33 Congress, 1 session).

North Carolina. This provided that any territorial laws regarding slavery operative before March, 1820, could not be revived. This proviso was approved and included in the bill. Now Stuart rose and said that the amendment had his entire approbation and he could vote for the repeal.<sup>39</sup> The Kalamazoo *Gazette*<sup>40</sup> said that this proviso, though introduced by Badger, was actually written by Stuart. It was thought that introduction by a Southerner would insure its passage. Though there is no conclusive evidence that Stuart was the author of this proviso, his immediate decision, after its introduction, to reverse his vote, certainly suggests this possibility.

At the close of the session, Stuart returned to Kalamazoo. The *Gazette* of August 18, 1854, cited his work in Congress. It reminded its readers that he advocated lake harbor improvements which would have brought \$250,000, that he procured grants of land for railroads [particularly the Oakland and Ottawa Railroad], that he was heart and soul devoted to the Homestead measure, and that he championed the Badger Proviso. The paper added that its statements were made in justice to Stuart, who was drawing undeserved criticism for his part in the legislation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.<sup>41</sup> In June, the *Gazette* had found fault with certain citizens of Battle Creek for hanging Senators Lewis Cass and Stuart in effigy: "This mode of manifesting public opinion we do not regard in very good taste."<sup>42</sup>

Stuart addressed the citizens of Kalamazoo in October. His speech was in vindication of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Stuart pointed out that: regarding slavery, we had no control over the already established states; the Fugitive Slave Act was required by specific provisions of the Constitution; the Kansas and Nebraska acts were the most liberal territorial acts ever passed; and they [Kansas and Nebraska] were now free states. "The tide of emigration from the Northern states will settle that question forever," he said. "No intelligent man ever doubted it."<sup>43</sup>

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a long period of unrest began. There was little trouble in Nebraska. It was settled

<sup>39</sup>*Congressional Globe*, appendix: 296 (33 Congress, 1 session).

<sup>40</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, March 24, 1854.

<sup>41</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, August 18, 1854.

<sup>42</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, June 30, 1854.

<sup>43</sup>Kalamazoo *Gazette*, October 27, 1854.

peaceably by men of antislavery sentiment. It was assumed by many, if not by Stuart, that in Kansas nature would take its course and Kansas would be a slave state. But the opposing factions organized and the following years brought border raids, irregular election, civil war, and other forms of strife.<sup>44</sup>

It was expected that the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act would bring peace to Congress as well as to the territories, and that there would be no more heated debates on the slavery issue. But this prediction proved to be wrong. The slavery issue continued to flare up in most discussions, even those dealing with the printing of bills. On one such occasion Senator Stuart arose and said:

The subject of slavery is one and perhaps the only one in respect to which good men feel apprehension in regard to the safety of the institutions of our country. . . . [it is] the only question which can at any time . . . endanger the existence of our institutions. Knowing and believing this, I have not only sedulously avoided its discussion here, but have asked others at all proper times to desist themselves.<sup>45</sup>

In 1856, in an already tension-filled nation, an election took place. On the doctrine that popular sovereignty was the only answer to the slavery issue, the Democrats with James Buchanan as their standard-bearer won an easy victory.

Buchanan, wishing to settle the problem of Kansas, chose Robert J. Walker, a man of great ability, to accept the governorship of that territory. Walker immediately called for an election of delegates for a constitutional convention, urging free-state men to participate. Not trusting Buchanan, they refused, and the constitutional convention at Lecompton, framed in October, 1857, was a proslavery document. When it was submitted to the people for approval, the only choice open was to vote either for or against further introduction of slavery. Free-state men refused to vote. A new free-state territorial legislation resubmitted the constitution. This time it was rejected. Free-state men cast 10,226 votes against it.<sup>46</sup>

Buchanan, a conservative who believed that the only way to preserve the Union was to mollify the South, was determined to have Kansas properly admitted as a slave state. He submitted the Le-

<sup>44</sup>Hicks, *The Federal Union*, 530-31.

<sup>45</sup>Congressional Globe, appendix:859 (34 Congress, 1 session). (Washington, D.C., 1856).

<sup>46</sup>Hicks, *The Federal Union*, 532, 536.

compton Constitution to Congress and urged its acceptance. Douglas, whose doctrine of popular sovereignty rested on the assumption that the majority of a territory's population had the right to determine the slave status of a territory, could not bear this travesty on the part of the President. He therefore broke with the administration.<sup>47</sup>

He was not alone in his indignation. Many northern Democrats joined him in denouncing the President's tactics. Stuart was one of these. In a three-hour speech expressing his opposition to the admission of Kansas, he discussed the President's plan to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, a plan which Buchanan called a policy of nonintervention. Stuart denounced this policy:

Here is a people remonstrating . . . by 10,000 votes at the polls against having this constitution forced on them. . . . You say to force [it] on them is non-intervention! To leave these people . . . free to regulate [slavery] in their own way is intervention. Could anything be more absurd?<sup>48</sup>

Buchanan succeeded with his plan in the House, but failed in the Senate. Under the English Bill, the Lecompton Constitution was once more submitted to the people of Kansas. By rejecting it, they delayed statehood for several years, but they proved once-and-for-all that they wanted to be free.<sup>49</sup>

By March, 1859, when Senator Stuart's term expired, he had attained an excellent reputation. He had served as chairman of the committee on public lands.<sup>50</sup> Because of his parliamentary ability he had often been called upon to preside, temporarily, over the deliberations of the Senate. He had also acted as president pro tem of that body.<sup>51</sup> He did not run for re-election, but resumed his law practice.<sup>52</sup>

In 1858, the Democrats nominated Charles E. Stuart for governor. This choice caused the Detroit *Free Press* to comment:

<sup>47</sup>Hicks, *The Federal Union*, 336.

<sup>48</sup>Congressional Globe, appendix:177 (35 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1858).

<sup>49</sup>Hicks, *The Federal Union*, 537.

<sup>50</sup>Congressional Globe, 18-20 (34 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1856).

<sup>51</sup>Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:293.

<sup>52</sup>Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1879.

The ticket and platform have perfectly united the whole party and have opened up the doors of the Democratic church to thousands who have been awaiting this opportunity to enter and take up their abode.<sup>53</sup>

The platform rested on promised improvements of the conditions caused by the allegedly criminal negligence of the preceding administration of Kinsley S. Bingham. Conditions were such, according to the Democrats, as to demand a complete change. Crop failures and financial crises had hit a large part of the state's population. Many believed that to support the Democratic candidate was the lesser of two evils. Stuart made a brilliant campaign, and though losing to Moses Wisner 56,067 to 62,202,<sup>54</sup> he cut the 1856 Republican majority of 17,317 to less than half.<sup>55</sup>

In 1860, Stuart was made delegate-at-large to the National Democratic Convention which met first at Charleston, South Carolina, and adjourned to meet in Baltimore. In this convention he was the chosen leader of the Douglas men, and directed their parliamentary tactics and debate.<sup>56</sup> Stuart was again a delegate in 1866, this time to the National Convention of Conservatives at Philadelphia. In 1868 he attended the national convention of his party in New York.<sup>57</sup> This was the last time he was to represent his state in either a legislative assembly or a party convention.

A split of the Democratic party into northern and southern factions in the election of 1860, was the forerunner of the split in the Union. When war came, Stuart, a firm believer in the Union, willingly responded to Governor Austin Blair's request that he raise and equip the Thirteenth Regiment of Michigan Infantry, which did gallant duty during the war.<sup>58</sup> Commissioned as a colonel on October 3, 1861,<sup>59</sup> he trained his regiment on the grounds of the

<sup>53</sup>Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 266-67.

<sup>54</sup>Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 267.

<sup>55</sup>Kalamazoo Biographical Scrap Books, S-3:353.

<sup>56</sup>Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:293.

<sup>57</sup>Compendium of History and Biography of Kalamazoo County, 209.

<sup>58</sup>Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:293.

<sup>59</sup>Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865, volume 13, *Thirteenth Michigan Infantry*, 139 [Kalamazoo, 1905].

National Horse Association in Kalamazoo.<sup>60</sup> He was mustered January 17, 1862, and resigned ten days later because of ill health.<sup>61</sup>

Returning to Kalamazoo after his term in the Senate, Stuart was once more active in community affairs. In 1858 he was one of one hundred citizens who organized the Kalamazoo Town Agricultural Society. This group was mainly interested in improving the breed of horses. Stuart was its first and only president, holding that office as long as the society existed.<sup>62</sup> Stuart was elected president of the Kalamazoo County Agricultural Society in September, 1866. Stuart was interested in promoting a good old-fashioned county fair. At Stuart's suggestion the society printed one thousand tickets for such an event, but only thirty were sold. After this failure he and the other officers resigned and the society ceased to exist.<sup>63</sup>

His law practice continued to flourish. In 1869 he was in partnership with John M. Edwards.<sup>64</sup> Probably the most important case of this time was *Stuart versus School District No. 1 of Kalamazoo*,<sup>65</sup> a case dealing with the right of a school board to establish and provide by taxation for the support of high schools. The state of Michigan had been gradually enlarging and liberalizing its common school system. This development had begun with the statute of 1859 which gave voters in a graded school district the right to establish high schools and to provide for their support by taxation. The authority to do this was not seriously questioned at the time. However, many questions soon arose. Could the proceeds of the primary school fund be used to support the high schools? Was it right to levy and collect a tax to pay for instruction in the higher branches, especially in the ancient languages, or to pay the salary of a general superintendent of schools? These questions had to be settled if the public high school, whose life was in constant danger, was to be regarded as a permanent institution.

To secure a decision from the courts on this matter, Stuart and

<sup>60</sup>*Kalamazoo Biographical File*.

<sup>61</sup>*Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1879.

<sup>62</sup>Durant, *History of Kalamazoo County*, 132.

<sup>63</sup>Durant, *History of Kalamazoo County*, 130.

<sup>64</sup>*Kalamazoo County Directory*, 308.

<sup>65</sup>T. M. Cooley, "David Darwin Hughes," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 7:512 (Lansing, 1886). See also, Archie P. Nevins, "The Kalamazoo Case," in *Michigan History*, 44:91-100 (March, 1960).

others commenced a suit in circuit court. The judge of this circuit upheld the right of a school district to establish a high school and to impose taxation and use public school funds for its support. The case went, as expected, to the State Supreme Court for final decision. Justice Thomas M. Cooley rendered the decision of the court in July, 1874. It was determined that a high school established by the voters of a district was a legal and rightful institution, and might be supported by public funds and by direct taxation.<sup>66</sup> The question was settled, and the "Kalamazoo case" is a milestone in the history of public schools in Michigan and the nation.

Stuart's last case was tried in 1873.<sup>67</sup> In the last years of his life he suffered from chronic rheumatism. In 1870 he suffered a paralytic attack.<sup>68</sup> His mind, however, remained clear and vigorous, and he acted as adviser to his party until his death. Stuart died May 19, 1887, aged seventy-six years and six months.<sup>69</sup>

Charles E. Stuart lived a full, rewarding life. He engaged in a remarkable career and received nation-wide recognition for his activities. As a lawyer he was associated with brilliant men, destined to distinguished lives in their own right. He had been his party's choice for governor in 1858, and someone had suggested, in retrospect, that he might have once been considered for the presidential candidacy.

When in a position of responsibility, Stuart always did that which he thought would most benefit the people of his community, his state, and his country.

<sup>66</sup>Daniel Putnam, *The Development of Primary and Secondary Public Education in Michigan*, 89, 91, 93, (Ann Arbor, 1904).

<sup>67</sup>Fisher and Little, *Compendium of History and Biography of Kalamazoo County*, 209.

<sup>68</sup>Kalamazoo Biographical Scrap Books, S-3:353.

<sup>69</sup>Vital Records, office of the Kalamazoo County Clerk.

## Book Reviews and Notes

Ferri Pisani, Camille. *Prince Napoleon in America, 1861*. Translated by Georges J. Joyaux; foreword by Bruce Catton. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1959. 317 p. Illustrations, notes. \$6.75.)

In 1861, Prince Napoleon, cousin of Napoleon III, and his wife Princess Clotilde made a visit to the United States. Their trip seems to have had no political or military motivation by the French government, but was apparently arranged purely for the personal interest and enjoyment of the Prince. Reaching New York in the latter part of July, the Prince and members of his party spent two months on the American continent, traveling to Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, D.C., the Great Lakes region, and St. Louis. Lieutenant-Colonel Camille Ferri Pisani was second aide-de-camp to the Prince, and it was his responsibility to keep the first aide-de-camp in Paris informed of the events of the trip. The seven letters comprising this volume were first published in their original French in an official military journal, *Le Moniteur de l'Armée*, and then appeared in book form in 1862 under the title of *Lettres sur les États-Unis d'Amérique*. This excellent translation by Dr. Joyaux, Professor of French Language and Literature at Michigan State University, marks their first publication in English.

Prince Napoleon and his entourage visited the United States during the critical period at the opening of the Civil War. Ferri Pisani's account reveals the pessimism with which the Union cause was regarded in both North and South after the battle of Bull Run — a pessimism which the author acknowledged had been unfounded by the time he published the letters a year later. President Lincoln's talents were not apparent to the Frenchmen either during a stiff and remarkably silent private interview or at a White House dinner, but Secretary of State Seward and Senator Charles Sumner were gracious hosts and won the visitors' high esteem. Privileged to meet the military leaders of 1861 of both Union and Confederate forces, Ferri Pisani recorded interesting conversations and highly descriptive characterizations of Scott, McClellan, McDowell, J.E.B. Stuart, Beauregard, and Johnston.

Of particular interest to the Midwestern reader are the four letters describing the experiences of the French group in journeying from Cleveland to St. Louis by way of the Great Lakes, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Fascinating accounts depict the gaiety of life on the steamer *North Star* between Cleveland and Bayfield, a canoe trip with an Indian pilot over the turbulent rapids at Sault Sainte Marie, French astonishment

at the boldness of American enterprise which had created the Sault Ship canal, visits to copper and iron mines of the Upper Peninsula, the ludicrous attempt to find transportation from Bayfield through the wilderness of northern Wisconsin. After other vicissitudes of travel—including two days stranded by low water on the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien (where they apparently did not meet its famous and wealthy citizen Hercules L. Dousman)—Prince Napoleon and his friends did reach Missouri before returning to the East.

Although Ferri Pisani commented frequently on American institutions and culture, he was in the United States at a period of great changes, the consequences of which he could not have been expected to recognize or foresee. His travel account is not, therefore, in a class with de Tocqueville in perception and analysis, a fact recognized by Professor Joyaux in his Preface. Nevertheless, Ferri Pisani was a keen and friendly observer, who put down his impressions honestly and fully, with good humor and wit. His letters are a welcome contribution to contemporary historical sources, not only about the United States during the Civil War but also about economic and social conditions in the rapidly developing Middle West.

In format the volume is attractively bound and illustrated with line drawings. A section of concise but helpful explanatory notes is found at the conclusion of the text. For the historical researcher the absence of an index is a flaw, regrettable in a publication by a university press and only partially counteracted in this instance by the use of the original detailed table of contents. This defect, however, is minor in comparison with the other praiseworthy features of the volume. Dr. Joyaux is to be commended not only for bringing these letters to the attention of American readers but also for contributing a sprightly translation, which makes Ferri Pisani's impressions a pleasure to read both as history and as literature.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin JOSEPHINE L. HARPER

*Pioneer Reminiscences of An Old Settler By One of the Boys.*

Edited by Kathe Cook. Illustrated by Natalie Cook. (Manistee, Manistee County Historical Society, 1960. 32 p. Illustrations. \$75.)

The Manistee County Historical Society is to be commended for the production of *Pioneer Reminiscences of An Old Settler*, which appeared in six consecutive weekly issues of the *Advocate* in 1884. These stories of the early settlement and lumbering around Manistee by a person who participated in the events add to our understanding of the period. The illustrations are delightful and contribute much to the enjoyment of this booklet.

HELEN EVERETT

*A History of the Newspapers of Ann Arbor, 1829-1920.* By Louis W. Doll. (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1959. 174 p. Preface, illustrations, notes, appendix, index. Paper. \$2.50.)

In 1960 there are only three morning daily newspapers in Michigan: the Detroit *Free Press*, going back to 1832, the Michigan State *News*, and the Michigan *Daily*. The latter are, of course student publications. Since the demise of the Grand Rapids *Herald* last year, Detroit is the only Michigan city with two dailies. The Michigan Press Association lists 56 dailies, and 290 weeklies in the entire state.

In Ann Arbor alone, Dr. Doll's thesis tells us, more than thirty distinct newspaper entities were published from the arrival of the crude wooden press of the *Western Emigrant* in 1829 to the 1920 takeover of the *Times-News* by the Booth chain. These are exclusive of advertising sheets—today's "shoppers"—tracts, purely political campaign (*The Mill Boy of the Slashes*) papers, religious, scientific and humorous periodicals, and, significantly, all publications of the University of Michigan.

The press has become, for 94 per cent of American communities, one big voice, a monopoly paper, not a still small voice, financed out of pocket with a shirtful of type and a hand press. *Sic transit.*

Dr. Doll, long associated with the Bay County Historical Society, has tried to give an account of the Ann Arbor newspaper press by the arduous method of reading extant copies page by page. His eye became too firmly affixed to statements of ownership, editorial policy, fiscal difficulties—in short, the management detail—to see the broader aspects of the effect of the press on the community and vice versa.

Writing in the *Journalism Quarterly*, fall 1959, Dr. Allan Nevins in a plea for more acute social historiographers of the press, asked:

But how should that record be written? As a chapter in our culture? As a striking part of American business enterprise? Or in relation to the workings of democratic government? The answer is, of course, in all three lights; but there can be no question that the third is the most significant.

In this Dr. Doll has not quite succeeded. We get altogether too much of this: "Volume XV, 1860, was originally to have been numbered from 1 to 52, but in the middle of the year Editor Pond decided to abandon this system and number the issues consecutively . . ." and far too little of this:

To the pioneer settler a newspaper was not a gossip sheet. He did not need to be informed in print of the doings of his immediate neighbors, as he knew or could find out about them as much as he cared to know; and often it was wiser not to inquire into a neighbor's previous history for he might be trying to make a new start in life and was entitled to do so. A newspaper, rather, was an organ for advertising the new community in order to attract more settlers; a means of contact with the centers of population,

both foreign and domestic; a method of expressing political opinion and leadership . . . .

It would have helped if Dr. Doll had given us a clearer view of the numerous political splinter movements of the era which accounted for the multiplicity of presses: the anti-Jacksonian Democrats and the Republican split in 1900 foreshadowing the Progressive movement, for example. The part of Michigan Whig editors in lashing together the Republican party under the oaks of Jackson is neglected. Editor Sam Beakes might have been identified as Second District Congressman for three terms; Alvick A. Pearson as founder of the Michigan *Alumnus*; and Horatio Abbott's missing editorial, on taking over the Washtenaw *Republican*, would not have puzzled the author had he recognized Abbott as for years a Second District Democratic leader and later Ann Arbor postmaster under the New Deal.

Similarly the mysterious post office, Borodino, could have been recognized as Plymouth on 1830's postal route maps.

Familiarity with newspaper terminology and typography would have helped the author avoid such slips as "editorial head" for "masthead," "boiler plate" for "patent insides," and "mourning borders" for reversed column rules. It is unclear in many passages whether a bankrupt-and-revived paper continued use of the same press and type, or which local press printed fugitive papers; of all the printing historians of Michigan, Douglas McMurtrie is, of course, the acknowledged expert in such recognition.

With Dr. Nevins I plead for an element missing in most such histories —a report on the developing art of reporting news; when did the A.P. come to Ann Arbor? The two accounts of the Michigan press written by Editor Samuel B. McCracken, one of which Dr. Doll's indefatigable research uncovered, might better have been printed *in toto*, and annotated for corrections. They are invaluable, and hard to come by.

Nevertheless to anyone interested in local history, and in the proliferation of the press in a not atypical community, Dr. Doll's book is fascinating. We yearn for more data about the colorful Dr. Alvin W. Chase of "Receipt Book" fame; the last robber baron of Washtenaw County, Frank P. Glazier; and *Emigrant* Editor George Corselius. Soon after the thesis was completed the Michigan Historical Collections received from a granddaughter Corselius' six volume diary, 1833-40, as good an example as any of the frustrations of the local historian.

While the book falls short in readability of Gene Fowler's *Timberline*, the story of the Denver Post, it is a work of careful scholarship and, if anything, an over-abundance of detail. In contrast to the prevalence of newspaper monopoly today it paints, for instance, this vivid picture of the competitive jungle in Ann Arbor in an earlier and more rugged day:

In an editorial on February 18, 1891, the (Washtenaw) *Evening Times* surveyed its three months' career with satisfaction. It told how it feared competition with the Detroit daily papers and with Ann Arbor's six established weeklies: the *Argus*, the *Register*, the *Courier*, the *Democrat*, and the two German papers.

*University of Michigan*

KARL F. ZEISLER

*From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams.* Edited by Milo M. Quaife. (Detroit, Wayne State University Press and the Detroit Historical Society, 1959. x, 405 p. Foreword, preface, introduction, illustrations, map, notes, and index. \$7.50.)

Alpheus S. Williams (1810-1878) was born in Connecticut, graduated from Yale (class of 1831), toured extensively in America and Europe, and in 1836 moved to Detroit, where he made his home for the rest of his life. A lawyer, judge, banker, newspaper publisher, diplomat, and congressman, Williams was also a soldier. He entered the Union army as a brigadier general in 1861 and served at that rank throughout the war. On the basis of performance he deserved to be promoted; why he was not remains unexplained. For two years Williams campaigned in the eastern theater, first as a brigade leader, then as a division and corps commander. Among the battles in which he fought were Cedar Mountain, Second Bull Run, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. In October, 1863, he was transferred to Chattanooga and finished the war under General William T. Sherman, participating in the Atlanta campaign, the "march to the sea," and in the northward drive through the Carolinas.

During the war years Williams corresponded regularly with his daughters, and his letters, which are deposited in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, now appear in a handsome volume edited by the late Dr. Milo M. Quaife. The book is divided into eleven titled sections; each contains a brief introductory statement about the principal military developments of the period during which the letters were written, and each letter carries an appropriate caption supplied by the editor. Dr. Quaife corrected the general's spelling and grammatical errors, a sound procedure for this particular work. Williams was not a semiliterate soldier who, like so many, struggled with words and sentences to get a letter written; he was a well educated, articulate writer with an engaging style, a writer whose vivid descriptions of action and scenery sometimes have the beauty of poetry.

It must be said, however, that Dr. Quaife failed to follow sound editorial policy in annotating his volume. Some prominent and some little known personalities are identified, but there are no explanatory

notes for any number of people, a few of whom appear quite frequently. Moreover, Williams' opinionated remarks concerning major military events are allowed to stand on their own. For example, the failure of the Union army to crush Lee at Antietam is attributed to commanding generals who did not properly execute McClellan's plan of battle. Although there is some support for this point of view, most authorities blame McClellan, not his subordinates, for falling short of decisive victory. Again, in speaking of Chancellorsville, Williams made claims for the Twelfth Corps that the editor should have weighed against the judgment of the best historians of the battle.

Attention should also be called to the fact that certain inaccuracies have crept into the volume. For example, to say that Fort Sumter closed "the era of peaceful discussion" is to gloss over the violence of the 1850's—civil strife in Kansas, the Sumner-Brooks affair, John Brown's Raid, and the like. Also, General Robert E. Lee's first invasion of the North was not by way of the Shenandoah Valley, but along a route that ran east of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

A close observer of men and events, Williams was a free-swinging epistolary critic who denounced, among other things, the press, neglect of the common soldier, policies and measures of the Lincoln administration, and West Point management of the war—though he greatly admired the leadership of General George B. McClellan. From Williams' letters there emerge sharply drawn pen portraits of Union generals: a disliked and distrusted Irvin McDowell; a fussy and fidgety Joseph K. L. Mansfield; an irascible Franz Sigel; an incompetent Ambrose E. Burnside; a liverish Joseph Hooker, scolding and swearing at subordinates on the eve of Chancellorsville; a boastful, blundering John Pope; and a brazen, headline-hunting Daniel E. Sickles, bathed in glory he did not deserve. Special mention should also be made of the superb letters on the second battle of Winchester, Antietam, and Chancellorsville.

*From the Cannon's Mouth* is a worthy addition to the fund of printed source material on the military phase of the Civil War. Scholars and students of American history can only regret that it is the parting shot of Dr. Quaife, whose amazingly productive career as an editor, historian, and author ended tragically a short time ago.

Michigan State University

FREDERICK D. WILLIAMS

*Electric Railways of Michigan*. Published by Central Electric Railfans' Association. (Chicago 90, Illinois, 1959. 220 p. Photographs, maps, colored plates, timetables. \$9.00.)

For three decades the electric interurban played an important part in the economic life of the country, but most prominently in the Midwest.

Now three decades later an entirely new generation asks, "What was an interurban?"

As time rapidly erases all evidence of this era of transportation, it becomes increasingly more difficult to find the answer. For the past several years the Central Electric Railfans' Association has compiled a yearly bulletin of various midwestern states. Of special interest to the people of Michigan is the 1959 project, bulletin #103, a historical scrapbook of the entire interurban system. It is a pictorial publication all historical societies might dream of producing, but entirely out of their reach because of a limited budget. It is only possible because the entire work is carried out by a nonprofessional staff, willing to work long hours without pay for the love of their hobby.

Through diligent searching by over one hundred members and contributions by museums, historical societies, and newspapers, the 220 pages were made possible. Street railways, interurban lines and even cable cars are illustrated in this work. Woven between the pictures are maps, timetables, passes, and other railway lore, plus excellent historical narrative of the various lines by Robert E. Lee of the Detroit Historical Commission.

The bulletin is divided into five sections. Section I of 34 pages is of the Detroit area. The frontispiece is a color plate of a representative Detroit Street Railway car. Other car equipment pictured are horse cars, battery cars, and steam cars. Summer cars, car drawings, track maps of the entire city, and a history of both the Detroit-Windsor and St. Clair railroad tunnels complete this section.

Section II of 66 pages, begins with a frontispiece of an Eastern Michigan Railway Interurban in color. In addition to stories of this system are timetables, photographs, and maps of this entire area. In addition there are maps of the city street railway systems in Ann Arbor, Pontiac, Flint, Mt. Clemens, Monroe, and Port Huron.

Section III begins with a color frontispiece of two Michigan Railway cars. The area covered is of Holland, Battle Creek, Lansing, Owosso-Corunna, Bay City, Saginaw, and Jackson. This section contains 56 pages.

Section IV of 36 pages completes the remaining lines of the lower peninsula and contains a history of the private electric railway of the University of Michigan and the cable cars of Western Michigan University.

Section V of 16 pages, describes the history of the lines of the Upper Peninsula. Inside the front cover of the book is a color map of all the electric lines in the lower peninsula. Every city having a street railway system is indicated, plus the routes of their connecting interurban systems.

Inside the back cover is a color map giving the same information for the Upper Peninsula. A reproduction of the Michigan Historical Com-

mission's historical marker on Michigan interurbans concludes the work.

In the past, C. E. R. A. publications sell out in less than a year and therefore, become a terrific financial investment, as values go up very high in only a year or so after publication. It should be a valuable addition to a library or historical collection, where the question will be raised, "What was an Interurban."

Kalamazoo, Michigan

A. RODNEY LENDERINK

*Vinegar Pie and Other Tales of the Grand Traverse Region.* By Al Barnes. (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1959. xx, 188 p. Illustrations and Index. \$5.00.)

If some sort of Emmy or Oscar or laurel were awarded university presses for their enterprise in publishing local history, Wayne would deserve a solid gold one for "Vinegar Pie." The book is well-designed, beautifully printed, and handsomely bound, and the two-color end-paper map is a delight.

Al Barnes, Traverse City newspaperman and free-lance writer, has made no pretense of compiling a chronological history of the colorful region stretching from Sleeping Bear Dune to Torch Lake. Instead he produced anecdotal bits and chips from a scrutiny of area newspapers. The book is made up of these anecdotes, with some expansion and editing, as they appeared in the *Traverse City Record-Eagle*.

The Oval Wood Dish Company in its peregrinations to keep up with its hardwood raw material is a saga in itself. Few tourists who stop for a meal or a take-home pound of smoked fish at Elk Rapids are aware that the old concrete foundations once supported the vast Dexter & Noble industrial complex. It produced pig iron, lumber, flour, and wood alcohol, and its "company" store rivaled Marshall Field's in the 1880's.

Like Hannah & Lay, the great Traverse City lumber "dukedom," all these pioneer industries vanished with the relentless swing of the loggers' double-bitted axe. Today the Grand Traverse region harvests its sweet and sour cherries and its lush tourist crop, dreaming of a lost industrial empire.

Gone are the hardwoods, the lake trout, the passenger pigeons, as well as the freight and passenger steamers that once plied the Chain of Lakes. In their places are the National Music Camp at Interlochen, Northwestern Michigan College, the Leelanau schools, the modern highways that open inimitable vistas to the valley of the Boardman, Glen Lake, and the Sleeping Bear's cubs, Big and Little Manitou Islands.

Even the Clam River bridge, which used to be cranked open laboriously for an occasional cruiser following the Chain of Lakes, while delayed motorists forgot to toot in amusement, is gone.

But the flavor of a once ripsnorting lumberjack and gaudy dancer

hangout, with its small town feuds, its county-seat battles, its legends of barroom brawls, lives on in "Vinegar Pie."

There is of course the problem of extracting, like maple syrup, the thin historical material of the pioneer community press and enriching it for contemporary readers. Al Barnes has resolved the problem as well as it can be done by going to the old-timers for reminiscences, and by consulting the extant nonnewspaper source material.

Oh, yes — the vinegar pie. The recipe reminds me somehow of my mother's attempt, in the Canadian Northwest, to make orange marmalade from carrots.

*University of Michigan*

KARL F. ZEISLER

*Mighty Mac.* By Lawrence A. Rubin. (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1958. xiv. 134 p. Illustrations, appendix, end maps. \$4.95.)

*Miracle Bridge at Mackinac.* By David B. Steinman in collaboration with John T. Nevill. (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957. 208 p. Illustrations and index. \$4.50.)

Ever since prehistoric man stood on the rim of a raging torrent, and conceived a strand of twisted vine and liana to carry him safely over the flood without wetting his feet, men have dreamed of larger and more highly articulated structures, spanning wider and deeper gorges and streams.

Xerxes with his bridge of boats over the Hellespont, Ancus Martius who in 621 B.C. built the Sublician bridge across the Tiber where Horatius Cocles made his gallant stand against the forces of Lars Porsena in the legend immortalized by Macauley, and Trajan's bridge across the Danube are prototypes of the mighty structures that now span many of the world's major water-courses.

All of this human effort and ingenuity over the ages finds its culmination in Michigan's Mackinac Straits bridge. Over 26,000 feet in length overall, it crosses the neck of waters conjoining Lakes Michigan and Huron, and binds together the two Michigan peninsulas. Completed in late 1957, it represents the ultimate triumph, not only of bridge engineering, but of man's ability to overcome elemental forces of nature that seemingly defied taming.

Two books, *Miracle Bridge at Mackinac*, by David B. Steinman, the engineer who designed the bridge, and *Mighty Mac*, by Lawrence A. Rubin, who supervised its construction as executive secretary of the Mackinac Bridge Authority, give us not only the historical record but all the drama and romance of this great enterprise.

The first is an engineer's story of the vision and daring that plumbèd

depths of more than two hundred feet below the water surface and established foundations on rock so porous that skeptics maintained it would crumble and collapse under the tremendous pressure of the 552 feet high towers erected upon it. It relates how forces of ice, current, and cyclonic winds threatening aero-dynamic stability were overcome.

The second, Rubin's book, tells much the same story pictorially, enabling the reader to visualize each step in the building of the bridge. Both are written so that the layman may readily understand, with a minimum of technical phrases, but packed full of drama and interest.

The books are more than history. They stimulate pride in a state that would undertake so great a work. They reveal the skill and vision of the men who conceived the idea and successfully carried it to completion. Above all they disclose the sheer physical courage and dogged determination of the engineers and workers who overcame apparently insuperable odds and performed prodigies of valor and endurance that made the building of the bridge an epic.

Every citizen of Michigan should have these two books in his library. They are a living and vibrant record of one of the major achievements of this generation, in this or any other section of the globe. They make one proud to say, in the language of the ancient Romans, *Civis Michigan sum, I am a citizen of Michigan.*

North Muskegon

JOHN C. BEUKEMA

*The Victor and the Spoils: A Life of William L. Marcy.* By Ivor Debenham Spencer. (Providence, Brown University Press, 1959. xii, 438 p. Portrait and index. \$8.00.)

This book is our first full-length biography of William Learned Marcy, a curiously neglected man whose unremitting party activity and many high offices made him one of the most significant figures in American public life during the generation which preceded the outbreak of the Civil War. Its title derives, naturally enough, from Marcy's famous defense of the spoils system before the United States Senate in January 1832.

From the year 1808, when he received his degree at Brown University and took up residence in Troy, New York, until his death in 1857, Marcy navigated the mainstream of American politics. Though he practiced law briefly, public affairs and the Democratic party were his great loves, and he served both with tremendous diligence. As comptroller in the New York state government, he struggled successfully with the financial problem of completing the Erie Canal. As judge, he heard the ticklish Masonic cases of 1830 without loss of reputation. As secretary of war in the [James K.] Polk administration, he supervised the military effort called forth by the Mexican War. As secretary of state under Franklin

Pierce, he handled a whole succession of explosive diplomatic issues with tact and skill. He was also governor of New York, United States senator, and in 1852 a leading contender for the presidential nomination. Always, moreover, he was an active party organizer and dedicated party strategist.

As Professor Spencer points out, the sheer length of Marcy's career and the variety of his activities pose a research problem great enough to discourage many historians. But he rightly adds that an even more likely reason for the long delay in producing a detailed evaluation of Marcy's place in American history is the man's rather lackluster reputation for short-run expediency. Though undoubtedly a leader in his own time, Marcy frequently led by following the line of least resistance. Few will deny that he was speaking as little more than a practical politician when he enunciated his celebrated dictum that "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." Nor can it be questioned that his obsession with party unity left him something of a "doughface" in the slavery controversy, a northern man with southern principles. This attitude was displayed again and again, though perhaps most explicitly in his attitude regarding the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Even the famous Dress Circular, issued to American diplomats abroad shortly after Marcy became secretary of state, might be interpreted as a clumsy, but temporarily fruitful appeal to the emotions of the crowd, its note of militant democracy being much more useful for home consumption than for export.

Yet, Marcy shared these weaknesses with many of his better-remembered contemporaries. On the positive side he was a prodigious worker, a good administrator, a tenacious and generally successful negotiator. While he does not merit inclusion in the first rank of American statesmen, he was probably of greater stature than any man who held the presidency between Polk and Lincoln.

On the whole, Professor Spencer rehabilitates Marcy very effectively. And if rehabilitation is his purpose, it was a sound decision to devote nearly half the book to his subject's four years as secretary of state. Though Marcy was nearing his sixty-seventh birthday when he assumed the senior cabinet post, it is here that his record of accomplishment shines most brightly. Doubtless the Marcy-Elgin Treaty of 1854 and the settlement of the Danish tolls question must rank as his most substantial feats. But he also rendered distinguished service in connection with a number of other issues brought to sharp focus by the rabid expansionism of the 1850's — including the Gadsden Purchase, the diplomatic contest with Britain in Central America, the attempt to purchase Cuba, the filibusters in Nicaragua. It must be remembered that such incendiary annoyances as the antics of Pierre Soulé in Spain and the Ostend Manifesto did not originate with Marcy. All these problems, as well as the enlistment controversy with Great Britain during the Crimean War, receive fairly detailed treatment.

Few readers will accuse the book of parsimony in the matter of footnotes, and most readers will find the style solid rather than sprightly. But nearly every page reflects Professor Spencer's untiring research among the unpublished sources of the period, including the personal papers of Marcy's leading contemporaries. By any standard of judgment, it is a significant contribution to the political history of those years of conflict and compromise.

*Eastern Michigan University*

DONALD F. DRUMMOND

*The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier.* By Powell A. Moore. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1959. xiii, 654 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Professor Moore describes the Indiana Calumet as "that part of the northwestern corner of the state drained by the Grand Calumet and Little Calumet rivers. It is on the southern shore of Lake Michigan and includes approximately the northern halves of the counties of Porter and Lake. The cities of Gary, East Chicago, Hammond, Whiting, Crown Point, and Valparaiso are in the region which is today one of the most heavily industrialized centers in the United States" (p.l.). The word "Calumet" is explained as a corruption of the Old French "Chalemel" and the Low Latin "Calamellus," both meaning "reed". The author points out that when the French reached the area during the last half of the seventeenth century, the Grand and Little Calumet rivers were sluggish streams fringed with a heavy growth of such reeds.

The slow development of the Indiana Calumet prior to 1900 seems amazing. Although the area was traversed by railroad lines as early as the 1850's, includes most of Indiana's shoreline on Lake Michigan, is located near Chicago, which became a metropolitan center during the nineteenth century, yet its development was so delayed that Professor Moore terms the region "Indiana's Last Frontier." This appellation, however, might be as appropriately applied to parts of the Kankakee Valley.

The emphasis in this volume is more on economic, social, and cultural than on political history. Early chapters consider the geological and geographical backgrounds of the Calumet, the Indians, the French and English, the fur trade, the American settlement, genesis of railroads, and beginnings of industrialization. The industrial era is dated from 1869 when George H. Hammond, pioneer in shipping refrigerated beef, established a meat-packing plant on the site which was named after him. The rapid industrial growth of the region, however, was delayed "until suitable sites for basic industries were no longer available in Chicago". Whiting was commenced by Standard Oil in 1889; East Chicago was incorporated in 1889, and became the home of Inland Steel in 1901;

Gary was founded by the United States Steel Corporation in 1906. Moore's history ends with 1933, when the "economic, social, and cultural patterns" of the region were "well established."

The focus in this volume is on local history, but frequent notice is given to the interplay between local and national history, and at times even to interaction between local and international history. Professor Moore exhibits extremely sympathetic understanding of the mosaic of peoples who have populated the region. Though usually kind and generous in his evaluations, at times he vividly and forthrightly portrays dishonesty, squalor, exploitation, etc. Having lived in the region for more than a quarter of a century, the author reflects an intimate knowledge of and keen insights about its history, traditions, and moods. Some repetition occurs in chapters regarding population, education, newspapers, labor, etc., but generally this repetition adds desirable connective tissue. Moreover, it makes clear that the isolation fostered by sand dunes, sloughs, sluggish streams, mud, and the like encouraged the growth of detached and even rival cities within the area.

Michigan residents should have a particular interest in *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*. Had the Old Northwest been divided as envisioned in the Ordinance of 1787, much of the industrial wealth of the Indiana Calumet would presumably now be within the Wolverine state. The Sauk Trail traversed the Indiana Calumet, connecting the Michigan and Illinois areas, while Michigan's first important railroad lines crossed the region as they linked Detroit and Chicago. The "platoon" system for the operation of schools, made famous by William A. Wirt at Gary, was also used in Michigan. In these, and in various other ways, there has been significant interplay between the development of Indiana's Calumet and the state of Michigan.

Indiana University

DONALD F. CARMONY

*The Electric Interurban Railways in America*. By George W. Hilton and Joseph F. Due. (Stanford University Press. 1960. 463 p. Illustrations, maps, and index. \$9.50).

The early years of the twentieth century witnessed a new mode of transportation competing with the steam railroad: the electric interurban railway. In offering greater convenience and flexibility for short-distance travel than the railroad, it rapidly expanded and soon made serious inroads into the passenger traffic of the day. However, it quickly gave way to the motor vehicle, which offered still greater flexibility, and soon faded from the scene.

An increasing interest is developing in the history of this short-lived experiment in what was then rapid transportation. Perhaps nostalgia best

explains this increasing interest in a colorful and neglected transportation era.

For a while only the railfan was interested in these histories but now George W. Hilton and John F. Due have collaborated on a history of the electric railway in America. The book is valuable for its comprehensive picture of the construction, rise, and final decline of the electric railways; for the story of passenger and freight traffic, and regulations. Besides the story of the interurban and its operation, there are sociological angles, financing problems, as well as corporation histories of at least three hundred traction companies.

For some time, many had been engaged in developing a cheap form of public transportation. Experiments with battery operated cars had failed, as had trains operated by compressed air and internal-combustion engines. The most successful replacement for the horsecar was the cable car. Cable lines were built in many major American cities, the largest system being in Chicago, where three companies owned 82 miles of track and 710 grip cars. Cable railways, however, had heavy initial expenditures. An entire line was tied up when a cable broke, and when a grip became entangled with a loose strand the car was uncontrollable.

By 1883, electric streetcars were developed that operated successfully enough to be put into commercial use, and by 1902, 97 per cent of the street railway mileage was operated electrically. Its remarkable success in urban operation led to its consideration for rural and intercity operation. Soon interurban promoters could reasonably expect to attract about 75 per cent of the local traffic from a parallel railroad line.

Building of lines in the area bounded by the Mississippi River, the Ohio River, the Great Lakes, and the Atlantic Ocean boomed. The state of Ohio had the most mileage, 2,798 miles; nearly a thousand miles more than any other state. Indiana was second with 1,825 miles. Practically every town with a population of more than five thousand was served by an interurban.

The principal source of income of the electric lines was from the local passenger traffic, which fell largely into two classes: farmers and members of their families making short trips into towns and cities for shopping and social visits; and commercial travelers and villagers going from one town to another. For the first time, a farmer's wife was able to go into town, shop for an hour or two, and return to the farm by dinner time.

Baggage, mail express, and freight were perpetual activities of these lines. In 1926 the Chicago North Shore and Milwaukee to compensate for its inability to move freight into downtown Chicago, ordered semi-trailers and offered the first "piggy back" service. Oddly this same service is now being widely used by the railroads in an effort to combat the serious inroads the truckers have caused to their own freight business.

Because franchises were needed in order to lay track on public property and particularly on city streets, the interurbans became subject to

the control of local governments. It was customary for the lines to pave between the rails and for a certain distance, often two feet, on either side. This became a serious burden when automobiles increased the costs of street paving. Franchises also placed serious restrictions upon freight operations on city streets. Seldom could a municipality be induced to reduce or ease these restrictions.

Few major industries have ever disappeared so quickly and completely as the interurban. The interurban began to grow very slowly in the period immediately preceding World War I, and remained fairly dormant during this crisis. Soon after the war, it began again but by 1933 the typical interurban as such had disappeared.

Part Two discusses the individual interurbans by states. Beginning with Ohio, each state ever boasting an electric line is reviewed. Not only is the history of each individual line explored, but a map showing its route is included.

This is a book that was bound to appear sooner or later, and the authors are to be complimented on their presentation of an excellent history of the rise, development, and fall of the industry, and of the various lines.

Kalamazoo, Michigan

A. RODNEY LENDERINK

*Freshwater Fury*. By Frank Barcus. (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1960. 184 p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$3.95.)

It is the unusual, unexpected, unforeseen, and exciting elements that make the reading of history interesting. The big storm which swept the Great Lakes in November, 1913, is every one of the aforementioned adjectives.

Author Frank Barcus, a Detroiter, has written a book about this outstanding storm and appropriately named it *Freshwater Fury*. In seventeen chapters adding up to 132 printed pages, plus four Appendix chapters and an index, Barcus records in vivid writing the crux of this great storm. Interviews and reports from sailors aboard ships which rode through this ordeal are recounted in detail.

Such havoc as was wreaked by the 1913 storm could hardly be expected to ever again strike our lakes. In the intervening almost half century man has made the business of sailing a much safer occupation for the men on board ships and also for the capital invested in the vessels themselves.

How the captains, engineers, and their crews, met this deadly storm makes intense reading. What they did to save themselves and their ships in the below-freezing gales, their thoughts and the outcome of their experiences all makes for breath-taking reading. Thrilling experiences are recorded such as that of Captain S. A. Lyons, who brought his

freighter, *J. H. Sheadle*, of the Cleveland Cliffs fleet, down the lakes with a cargo of iron ore. He sailed directly through the very vortex of the storm, over the spots where other ships had lost their battle and gone to the bottom of Lake Huron taking all on board along. The *Sheadle* docked safely at Erie, Pennsylvania, on Lake Erie, November 12. There is also the personal account of Captain James B. Watts and his Chief Engineer Edward Sampson of the freighter *J. F. Durston*, and their death defying voyage carrying a cargo of coal upbound from a Lake Erie port to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, running northward through the same devastating blow. They made their destination badly battered with the men aboard completely exhausted. These are the tales of the men who mastered the big storm, but there were 251 from some twelve or so foundered vessels who never lived to make any port. They lost their lives.

Mr. Barcus has done a remarkable job in his recording of this great event in the history of the Lakes which particularly effected the state of Michigan, being almost entirely surrounded by the waters of the Great Lakes. Many of her citizens, as Mr. Prentiss M. Brown mentions in the book, stood on the shore and watched the angry waters churning into a frenzy, and feared for the men aboard ships caught out on the lake. Many of them also remember going down to the beaches after the big storm had subsided—days later—and seeing the great mass of debris and wreckage, even bodies of the sailors enmeshed in the floatsam piled high by the raging waters. It was the most devastating storm ever to strike the Great Lakes and the shores of Michigan. Mr. Barcus can be credited with an accurate reporting of the storm. His account is well worth reading.

An excellent Foreword by the eminent historian, Mr. George W. Stork, sets the stage. Acknowledgment is made to three Michigan men for their financial assistance in the publication of this volume. The excellent pen and ink drawings at each chapter-head helps to offset the absence of actual photographs.

Rocky River, Ohio

DANA THOMAS BOWEN

A bibliography of materials relating to the history of Oakland County has been compiled by Albert G. Black. Entitled *Oakland County, Michigan, History and Development: A Bibliography of Materials Found in State and Local Depositories*, the bibliography lists 197 items, with the libraries in which each is located, and with brief annotations, in some instances. There is also a topical index. Photocopy reprints of the type-written 20-page manuscript may be purchased for \$1.50 from the compiler at 2401 Pinecrest, Ann Arbor.

## Contributors

Dr. Fred C. Hamil was born in Canada near Chatham, Ontario. He became an American citizen in 1934. He took his undergraduate work at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario; received the B.S. degree from Columbia University; and a master's and doctorate from the University of Michigan. Mr. Hamil is the author of *The Valley of the Lower Thames* (1951) and *Lake Erie Baron: The Story of Colonel Talbot* (1955).

Hudson Keenan, a native of Mt. Pleasant, received a B.S. in geography from Central Michigan University in 1953, and an M.S. in land and water conservation from Michigan State University in 1954. He spent a year and a half with the Army Corps of Engineers on terrain studies in Europe, and at present is a teacher in the Mt. Pleasant Public School system.

Mark O. Kistler is an assistant professor of German at Michigan State University. His publications have been in the field of eighteenth century German literature and have appeared in the *Monatshefte, Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly*, and the *Germanic Review*.

Anne K. McCain, who is a native of Jackson, took her undergraduate work at Kalamazoo College. Following a year of teaching, she is continuing her education in the graduate field of history at the University of Michigan.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

*Michigan History* is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in the fall, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.

